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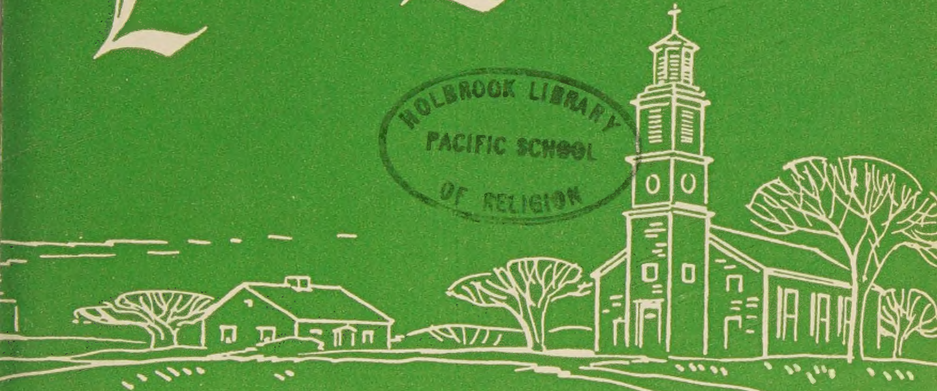

urdling the World's Fences . **WILLIAM ADAMS BROWN, JR.**

atthew Not Marx . . . . **CAMERON P. HALL**

v. 41-42

SEPTEMBER 1950-
June 1952

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V. 41-42
1950/51 - 51/52

83811

Vol. XLI

Social Progress

No. 1

DIVISION OF SOCIAL EDUCATION AND ACTION
PAUL NEWTON POLING, Secretary and Editor; MARGARET E. KUHN, Assistant Editor; CLIFFORD EARLE, Associate Secretary; and WILLIAM H. MCCONAGHY, Director, and JESSE BELMONT BARBER, Associate Director of the Institute on Racial and Cultural Relations.

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Articles represent the opinions of the authors, and not the official policy of the Division of Social Education and Action or the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America.

Published monthly, except July and August, by the Division of Social Education and Action of the Board of Christian Education of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America, at 1009 Sloan Street, Crawfordsville, Indiana. Entered as second-class matter at the post office at Crawfordsville, Indiana, under the Act of March 3, 1879.

Editorial and Executive office, 830 Witherspoon Building, Philadelphia 7, Pa.

Subscriptions, $1.00 a year; three years for $2.50. Single copy, 15 cents. Group rates on request. Send subscriptions to 830 Witherspoon Building, Philadelphia 7, Pa.

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HURDLING THE WORLD'S FENCES

By **WILLIAM ADAMS BROWN,** Jr., ***of Brookings Institution.***

THE police action in Korea which the United States is taking under the authority of the United Nations is calculated to stem Communism's red tide of aggression. But the battle for a secure and peaceful world will not be won with economic nationalism of any form; and at such tense times most people have little inclination to study the international rules that can counteract economic nationalism.

World trade is a big subject that most people avoid because it seems so complicated. Yet millions of United States jobs depend on it, and foreign trade in copper, rubber, tungsten, and tin is vital to every part of our nation.

With our modern means of transportation the world has never known such volumes of trade between nations, but never in the history of the world has international trade suffered such hindrances and restrictions. People of good will in every country realize this and agree that there must be some general rules of trade that can be accepted by countries with different economic philosophies, and by countries in all stages of economic development.

ITO Is Chartered

The most ambitious attempt to reach such agreement was the negotiation of the proposed charter for an International Trade Organization, which was signed at Havana by the representatives of 54 countries on March 24, 1948.

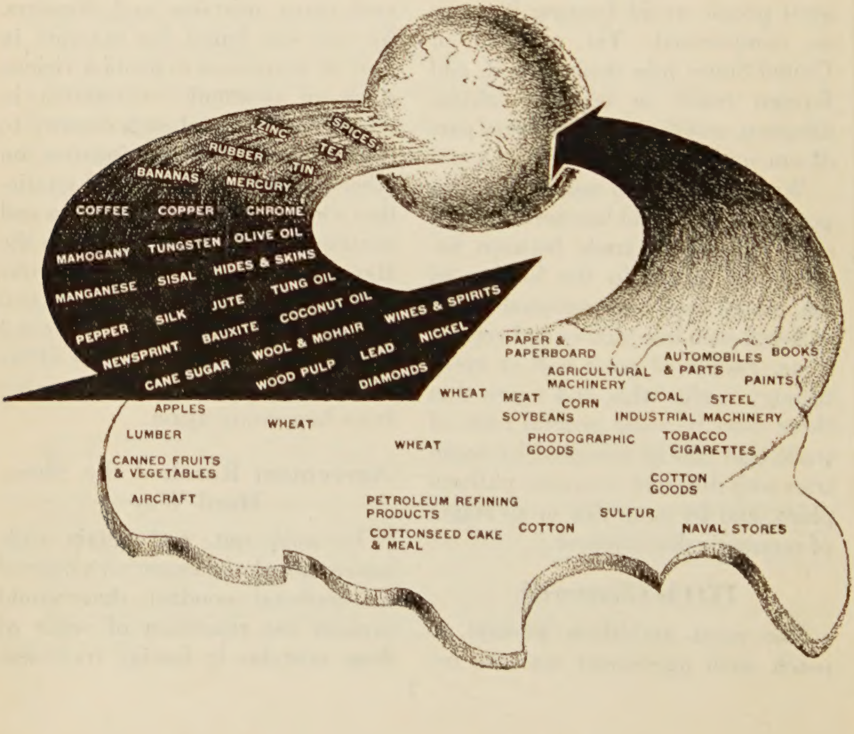
This charter has a long history which really began in the two decades between the First and Second World Wars. During the '20's and '30's great and persistent efforts were made to promote international co-operation in commercial policy, but they were not sufficient to prevent many mistakes and disasters. No way was found, for example, in time of depression to avoid a vicious circle of economic contraction in which the efforts of each country to protect itself inflicted injuries on other countries. This caused retaliation which spread the depression and contraction still farther. Though the Havana charter is a very controversial document and has not yet, and may never be, accepted by the United States, it represents a major effort to prevent a world-wide depression from happening again.

Agreement Reached the Slow, Hard Way

To work out, and obtain wide international agreement on a code of international conduct that would prevent the repetition of some of these mistakes in foreign trade was extraordinarily difficult. The Havana charter is the product of the longest and most complicated international negotiations ever undertaken in the field of commercial policy. Every provision of the draft charter was debated by fifty-seven nations and substantially developed and modified by them.

The first step toward world trade agreements was really taken as far back as 1941, when the first lend-lease agreement was made between Great Britain and the United States. These countries agreed to seek the expansion of production, employment and the exchange of goods, the elimination of all forms of discriminatory treatment in international commerce, and the reduction of tariffs and other trade barriers. For the next six years the United States Government was engaged in active planning and almost continuous negotiation with Great Britain and many other countries to determine

FOREIGN TRADE IS VITAL TO ALL PARTS OF THE U.S.



the best means for achieving these objectives.

In 1945 our country made public a short document called Proposals for the Expansion of World Trade and Employment, which became the basis for the negotiation of the Havana charter. In the Anglo-American Financial Agreement of that year Great Britain stated its agreement with all the major points in this document and the way was cleared for multilateral negotiations under United Nations sponsorship. These negotiations lasted for two years, first in a Preparatory Committee of seventeen nations, and then in the United Nations conference at Havana in which fifty-seven nations participated.

In spite of the extraordinary care with which the Havana conference had been prepared for, it lasted for five months. All the countries represented were agreed that higher standards of living could be secured by eliminating excessive barriers to trade and to international capital movements. Why then did negotiations take so long?

Four Points of View

The answer needs to be pondered by all men of good will who wish to see the free world united in friendly economic relationships. It lies in the fact that the Havana conference had to reconcile four basically different approaches to the achievement of the common objectives.

The United States wanted to take a multilateral approach which would make the most rapid and substantial progress possible through the establishment of nondiscriminatory methods of trade. Its aim was to restore a network of international trade in which no country would seek to make its exports and imports with any other single country come out even. Each country would have a general balance in its trade with all the rest of the world. Our country's proposal included the earliest possible removal of the many existing obstacles to the international flow of investment since this was felt so essential to successful multilateral trade.

The so-called underdeveloped countries proposed a second approach. They strongly urged that they should be granted special rights to give preferential treatment to the trade of countries in their own region and to limit the amount of goods that could be imported, whenever they thought this was necessary in the interests of their own economic development.

A third approach came from the advanced countries of Europe, which in general leaned much farther than the United States in the direction of Government control of foreign trade. They insisted that special provision should be made for them in coping with their balance of payments difficulties, especially in finding dollars. Most of these countries were also concerned about maintaining special colonial relations through established systems of trade preferences. Finally there was the approach of countries which conduct Government or state-controlled trading operations that had to be reconciled with our country's encouragement of private enterprise.

The Havana conference was also much concerned with this fundamental question: What should be the relationship between policies of foreign trade and full employment?

What the Havana Charter Will Do for World Trade

The outcome of months of negotiations was a multilateral treaty of 106 articles, designed to promote the orderly conduct of international economic relations over a wide area, in accordance with a set of agreed principles and for the attainment of common objectives. Its substantive provisions cover the international aspects of employment policy and of economic development—including investment, the whole range of commercial policy proper, restrictive business practices (cartels), and intergovernmental commodity agreements in primary and related commodities. The charter provides for the establishment of an international organization through which the members agree to work co-operatively in all these fields. It also contains the constitution of the International Trade Organization.

Under the charter the members of the ITO are bound to observe the general rule of "most favored nation treatment," under which each member is bound to accord to the trade of all the other members treatment as favorable as it accords to the trade of any other country. They must negotiate with each other upon request for the "substantial reduction of the general levels of tariffs" and for the elimination of tariff preferences. They must avoid practices that have the effect of affording indirect or concealed protection to their home markets, additional to those erected at the frontier. They accept some limitations on their rights to impose retaliatory duties and to use export subsidies. As a general rule they may not place embargos on exports, or impose limitations on the amount of goods that may be imported.

The charter also requires members to conduct the part of their trade which is carried on by the Government according to commercial principles, and to negotiate for the reduction of those special kinds of protection which are afforded by Government trading practices. They are required to act to eliminate the harmful effects of public or private combines or cartels on international trade. They must agree also to regulation of trade in agricultural commodities.

All these obligations and rules are designed to promote multilateral and nondiscriminatory trade. They are related in the charter to other national obligations for maintaining general economic activity and employment. The members recognize that their own employment policies are of vital concern to other members, and they undertake to cooperate with each other in economic development.

The charter, however, also contains substantial exceptions to its general rules, to take care of present difficulties and special situations of many countries. These relate principally to the withdrawal of tariff concessions negotiated with other countries to meet an emergency, the use of import quotas and subsidies in connection with domestic schemes for stabilizing agricultural production and prices, quantitative restrictions on imports by countries "in balance of payments difficulties," and the use of preferences and quantitative restrictions for economic development. There are also exceptions to safeguard national security.

If a member nation fails to abide by the charter, complaints can be made against that member, followed by special consultations and investigations—all part of the general procedure for settling differences. The charter also contains many provisions for consultation and cooperation in all fields among the members, between the members and the International Trade Organization itself, and between the ITO and other international agencies.

The Charter Has Its Critics in U.S.A.

The Havana charter has been severely criticized in the United States, principally on the ground that it gives an international sanction, through the exceptions to its general rules, to many "malpractices" in international trade. It is pertinent to note, however, that three of the most important of these exceptions—withdrawal of tariff concessions in case of a threat of injury to producers, security exceptions, and use of subsidies, were included because the United States insisted on them. The charter is also criticized on the ground that it does not adequately protect American interests and that it sanctions and encourages Government trading and economic planning.

But it is not the purpose of this article to criticize or to defend individual provisions of the charter. It is rather to stress the fact that the charter itself is a milestone in a long effort of the human will to find some strong counterforce to economic nationalism.

Another Trade Agreement

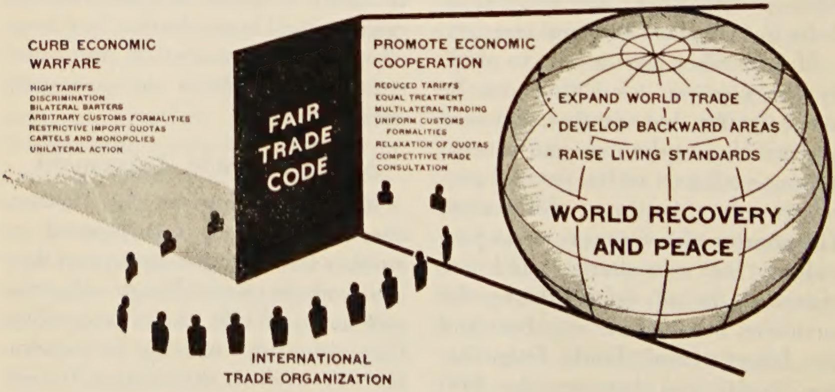
Many provisions of the Havana charter have been incorporated in another international agreement that is already in effect, though only provisionally. While the Preparatory Committee was meeting in Geneva in 1947 to draft the charter, it also sponsored a General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade. Under this Agreement two rounds of actual negotiations for tariff reduction have been successfully carried out; a third will begin in September, 1950. Over thirty countries are participants in this Agreement. Their representatives meet regularly to solve problems arising out of the application of trade barriers other than tariffs, and to adjust or modify the tariff schedules that have been agreed to in the tariff negotiations.

Under this Agreement has come an *esprit de corps* and a kind of mutual trust and understanding that only close and practical co-operation on common problems can bring! It is possible that if the ITO charter is not accepted, the General Agreement can be expanded to include most of the charter's constructive features.

Uncle Sam Takes the Lead

During the past fifteen years the United States has assumed leadership in solving technical problems of international trade by patient negotiation, by developing new forms of international consultation on economic affairs. Our country has also taken the lead in the accommodation of conflicting national views within a general framework of agreed principles. Whatever its decision on particular projects, the United States must not abdicate its leadership in attempting to find an international agreement for a "wiser and better basis for international economic relationships."

INTERNATIONAL TRADE ORGANIZATION WOULD AID WORLD RECOVERY AND PEACE



LABOR SUNDAY MESSAGE, 1950

To be read in the churches on Labor Sunday, September 3, 1950, or, if preferred, on September 10, 1950.

LABOR DAY, 1950, finds us living in a period that is putting our economic system and our democracy to a severe test. There is a sense of fear, of uncertainty, all over the world. Among nations we have continuing hostilities, and within our own country frequent recurrence of industrial strife. Ours is a busy and confused world of business and politics and of continual struggle for national, group, and personal security. In it the churches are challenged to proclaim more convincingly than ever the eternal truths of the Christian faith in a language familiar to every layman and relevant to the common life.

Science has shown us how to split the atom with devastating results and we may now be on the verge of creating a weapon of even greater destructiveness. But millions of workers around the world have learned through suffering that we have found no adequate way to feed hungry people even when food surpluses are being destroyed. These surpluses, however, must be regarded in significant part as artificial, since the problem is largely one of balance between the food we produce and the incomes of those who would consume it. Despite all our resources, we have not been able to meet even the basic needs of millions.

Hunger and Unemployment Not Inevitable

There are those who would have us believe that insecurity and suffering are the price that we must inevitably pay for freedom. But the Christian can never accept the doctrine that unemployment and hunger are inevitable any more than he can accept the doctrine that war is inevitable.

We have a justifiable pride in the freedom of the economic system which prevails in our country today and in the tremendous achievements of American industry. However, at the present time our economy is in part being maintained at a high level of production and employment by expenditures for national defense to which a substantial proportion of our energies is being diverted. This is a challenge to the Christian conscience. We must strengthen and improve those elements of our economic system which will enable us to maintain continued high levels of employment and productivity without these artificial supports. To do this we must declare unremitting war on poverty, prejudice, and greed.

The present world crisis summons us as never before to bring our practices closer to our Christian ideals. To stress the value of Christian brotherhood and co-operation on Sunday, while we live under less exacting standards during the week, creates inner spiritual conflict. At best, our working life involves moral tensions. Unless we continually seek to make the convictions we hold as Christians operate in the work that is our livelihood, we invite moral decay. As Christians we must recognize Christ as Lord and Master over every department of life.

Recognizing Labor's Problems and Contribution

Millions of American workers, including large numbers from organized labor, are church members. And yet, aside from them, too few church people understand the problems and struggles of wage earners. Too few church people realize that the labor movement through development of the co-operative spirit has helped to advance human welfare. Too few church people are familiar with labor's contribution to industrial progress and peace through collective bargaining.

True Christianity is always prophetic. The Early Church acquired influence with the people by stirring the imagination of those who longed for a fuller life. Here in America, churchmen were among the first to challenge slavery and poverty. And churches today have committed themselves, through many agencies and in many activities, to correct injustice in our social order and to support the just aspirations of labor. At the same time, in order to maintain the degree of freedom for individuals and groups that we cherish in our economic life, the churches, which include within their fellowship both employers and employees, need to oppose abuses of economic power by labor as well as by management and other groups.

Honoring God Daily

Every person has a calling to serve God unselfishly in some useful occupation. All Christians are equally called to honor God daily in love to their neighbors through their different vocations. Every useful occupation, be it that of wage earner, businessman, or minister, can be an expression of a person's will to serve God and his fellow men. Our Lord left us no blueprint for a social system, but he gave us the law of love by which the whole of our life is to be measured. "The kingdom of the world is become the kingdom of our Lord, and of his Christ."

Condensed statement of the Executive Committee of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America and issued through the Department of the Church and Economic Life.

MATTHEW NOT MARX

By **CAMERON P. HALL,** ***Executive Secretary, Department of the Church and Economic Life, the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America.***

"The gospel is concerned with all the activities of man, individual and social. Therefore, the Christian faith is relevant to the economic order. The Church, as the custodian of 'the sacred and imperishable message of eternal salvation,' is charged with a fourfold duty, as Christians in fellowship confront the economic life. It must be the teacher of the principles of conduct; a voice of judgment; a guardian of moral and spiritual values already won; and the herald of a better day. . . .

"Christians must not identify any economic order with the gospel. The Christian gospel is not to be found in Adam Smith's Wealth of Nations, *nor in Karl Marx's* Kapital. *It is to be found in Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John, in The Acts of the Apostles, the Epistles of the New Testament, and the vision of John in The Revelation. It is to be found in the preaching of the Hebrew prophets, in the lives of saints and martyrs, in the service of the faithful followers of Christ, and in the continuing revelation of God. That faith affirms the supreme worth of persons. Institutions must be tested finally by their contribution to the enrichment of personality."*

THIS and other incisive statements in affirmation of Christian concern from the Detroit Study Conference on the Church and Economic Life have been widely read and hotly debated by Protestant churchmen. But what can be done to *keep alive* the significant spirit and thinking of this conference in our churches and communities?

The General Assembly in May put into the current social education and action program of the Presbyterian Church, U.S.A., a follow-up of the Detroit Conference; so did the American Baptist Convention and the General Council of the Congregational Christian Churches, to mention but two of the other denominations that have met since February. State and city councils of churches are responding in similar fashion.

Three local "post-Detroits" have already been held, with many more to come.

A major impetus for the Detroit Conference follow-up lies in the results of what the churches did following upon the earlier conference in Pittsburgh. What was attempted between 1947 and 1950 was indeed impressive, and so were the achievements.

But there is a further and timely reason for the churches' setting up this educational program. I refer to the current attacks upon the denominations in the Federal Council of Churches for their Christian social action program, especially in respect to economic and industrial issues.

Thy Will or Ours?

To a major degree these attacks rest upon two misconceptions. One is a mass of distortions and misstatements as to what the Federal Council of Churches has done and said. In this connection, what the General Assembly urged in its Social Education and Action Report is extremely discerning and helpful. I quote from its reference to the Detroit Conference. "In interpreting the findings it is important to treat each sentence and each part in the context of the entire report."

A second misconception at times becomes almost a perversion of the meaning for life of Christian faith and principles. Much of the so-called case against the Federal Council rests upon the insistence that the position of the churches on social and economic matters must be in conformity with a specific view of what economic life should be, as held by a particular individual or group. This is to make Christianity the religious echo of a particular culture or economic theory rather than the voice of God speaking to men from beyond and outside of their social and economic environment. It goes farther than offering secularism as a substitute for religion. What it does is to domesticate religion within a closed cultural pattern or economic system.

A positive and active program by the churches, dealing with their responsibility for economic life, is the best and ultimately only answer. Without being blind to the difficulties and problems that surround such a program, we would be guilty of of worse blindness if we were unaware of the assets that are on the side of those who will be extending the significance of the Detroit Conference throughout the churches in the coming months.

Asset No. 1—Changed Attitudes

I find two kinds of assets. One is an attitude found particularly among a growing number of laymen. For many, the Pittsburgh Conference seemed to be largely an experiment, perhaps little more than a flash. But the Detroit Conference has given substance to the earlier effort, taking away much of the tentativeness that for many hung about this movement of the churches. A growing number of laymen feel that what Pittsburgh and Detroit did is a feature of church life which should definitely be taken into account.

But in many circles there is more than simple awareness of this program. The follow-up of the Pittsburgh Conference in states and cities won new friends, and so have the Detroit Conference and its aftermath of conferences to date. I am thinking in this connection of a layman who has held outstanding positions in the industrial life of this country. During the last few years he has had considerable misgivings about the Pittsburgh Conference. He decided to look into the program at first hand and recently attended one of the post-Detroit meetings. What he saw that day he liked, and he is saying so to his business associates.

It is a fact that the Detroit Conference has been given recognition at the top levels of both labor and business. It has been reported and discussed in every section of the nation, in each case with favorable reactions.

A practical outcome of this recognition is that the churches now have a roster of able laymen who are willing to give time for leadership to this program. These are in business and labor, in agriculture and the professions, and include economists and educators. Perhaps many of them would have responded earlier, but the point is that the churches now know both their willingness and their qualities for leadership.

Asset No. 2—The Conference Reports

A second asset lies in the results of the conference itself. The delegates had the benefit of papers carefully prepared ahead of time dealing with each topic; they spent many hours in full discussion following democratic procedures; the reports are a remarkable demonstration of unanimity. Among the final votes on the five papers, fifteen was the largest number of votes cast in opposition at any one time.

No matter what the subject under discussion, it was explored with Christian concern and perspective. One of the reports deals with issues related to the economic aspects of America's world position. We believe this is the first document of its kind to be drafted by a religious body. Another report, "Freedom of Enterprise and Social Controls," deals with such timely issues as economic stabilization, income distribution, and power groups and social control. A third surveys the field of motivation, not in terms of abstractions, but of the realities of economic life as it is confronted daily. The fourth lays out in a thorough and challenging way what the churches can and should do to develop informed Christian attitudes, and to enlist and train lay people in the meaning and practical applications of the Christian faith to economic life. And in the conference message the churches have a unique blending of ultimate issues and concrete problems.

Aids for Study and Action

These reports have long been available and have already been widely read and used. For instance, a large church in the Middle West during the late spring conducted a six-week course on the conference findings. Such study programs will be made easier this fall by the availability of two additional publications, each based on the conference statement and reports: One will be a suggested program and aids for a single meeting of a church group; the other, a study guide of several chapters for individual reading and group use.

Beyond what is done in the local churches—and indeed as an aid to what is being done—consider what relation of the churches to economic life, as presented in the Detroit Conference, is called for in meetings of synods and presbyteries.

Denominational Leadership Needed

Denominational leadership can help in significant activities by councils of churches. The first two post-Detroit conferences held locally confirm that interdenominational undertakings take place because of initiative from two sources. For one of these local conferences, decision, responsibility, planning, and leadership came wholly from the council of churches itself. In the other, the initial purpose and plan came from within the presbytery, with the conference becoming later a co-operative venture of the churches. It is increasingly apparent that the Presbyterian Church can take a special initiative for church and economic life program, both denominationally and interdenominationally, through the growing number of "alumni" of its Institute of Industrial Relations at Labor Temple in New York City.

Observe Church and Economic Life Week

The best time for churches, presbyteries, and councils of churches to stress this program will vary. For many, Church and Economic Life Week, January 14-20, 1951, will be chosen. Recognition of this theme on Sunday, January 21, will be important, but equal emphasis should be placed on programs during the week. In this way laymen, as well as ministers, through study and discussion can face together as Christians into the pressures and issues which they meet daily as producers, consumers, and citizens.

WHAT DOES THE WORKINGMAN WANT?

By **CLIFFORD EARLE**, ***Associate Secretary, Division of Social Education and Action, Presbyterian Board of Christian Education.***

What does the workingman really want out of life?

AN EMPLOYER must know something of the worker's needs and desires if he is to achieve good relations with the people he employs. Many serious conflicts between labor and management have had their origin in the failure of the employer to understand the worker's real goals.

It is also important for Mr. John Q. Public to have some awareness of labor's wants if he is to assay properly the workingman's position in a time of labor dispute. Public criticism of labor's actions often reveals a complete lack of understanding of what the worker seeks to achieve.

The goals of labor, as an expression of what the workingman truly wants, have not been clearly articulated. The labor union leader may be expected to be helpful at this point, but he is usually more concerned with the immediate needs of the workers he represents than with their deep, unexpressed desires.

There have been several studies, however, that offer a clue to what is going on in the worker's mind. A splendid analysis of the results of some of these studies has been made by the Labor Committee of the Twentieth Century Fund. The committee's report—*Partners in Production, A Basis for Labor-Management Understanding*—is "must" reading for everyone interested in worker-employer relations. (This important book, published in 1949, may be obtained from the Twentieth Century Fund, 330 West 42d Street, New York 18, New York. The price is $1.50.)

Labor's real objectives may be summarized as follows: security, opportunity, recognition, and dignity.

Security

The efforts of American labor to achieve such protections as old-age pensions, medical insurance, and job tenure based on seniority emphasize the importance of security to the worker. A related target, about which we shall hear much in the future, is guaranteed annual wages.

The modern industrial worker feels the precariousness of his position. He may possess certain valuable skills, but he does not own the tools by which his skills are put to use. Between him and calamity stands only the weekly pay envelope. His besetting fear is unemployment. He remembers the periods of idleness through which he and his family, or his friends and their families, have endured incredible hardships.

The workingman's first and major defense against job insecurity has been the labor union. The organized worker looks upon the union as his most important safeguard against the hazards and uncertainties of modern industrial employment.

Here is the secret, so baffling to many employers, of the worker's loyalty to his union. The workingman often identifies his own security so completely with the trade-union to which he belongs that he will subordinate his personal interests to those of the union. Workers will strike for weeks over a matter of two cents an hour, knowing that it will take years of full employment to balance their losses, if they think that the integrity or prestige of their union is threatened. They may be critical of their union, and negligent in attending union meetings, but when the test comes the ranks hold firm.

Wages are an important factor in security. Surveys have shown, however, that the average worker gives priority to the assurance of continuous employment. He would rather keep a relatively low-paying job in which the risk of unemployment is low than take a job in which both risk and pay are high. This is especially true among older workers with heavy family obligations.

Opportunity

Another deeply felt goal of the workingman is a chance to get ahead.

He wants to be able to advance to a better job in both pay and prestige. He cherishes for his family more privileges and opportunities.

Trade-unions have been able to assist workers in their desire for advancement principally through the elimination of favoritism. Nearly all labor-management contracts include clauses that greatly minimize the elements of whim and chance in the movement of workers from job to job within the plant. Many unions also provide training courses and other experiences through which workingmen may fit themselves for better jobs.

Workers on the whole believe that advancement is governed chiefly by two factors—quality of work and willingness to work. They also list length of service and co-operation as important elements. Only infrequently do workers say that one has to be a relative of the boss or a friend of the foreman in order to get ahead.

Surveys show, however, that a majority of workers feel that their own jobs will not lead to advancement even if they perform them with extraordinary zeal and skill. One of the chief complaints of many workers is that their employers do not provide enough opportunities for promotion.

Recognition

Another of labor's deeply cherished goals is completely noneconomic in nature. It is the workingman's aspiration to be counted as part of the production team in industry. The desire to achieve status, to be recognized and appreciated, is one of the most subtle and powerful of human motives.

Labor-management relations have often been based on the assumption that workers are motivated primarily by economic interests. In its relations with consumers, management has recognized the importance of sentimental factors. Long past due in many sections of American industry is the same consideration of the workingman's need for simple human appreciation.

Well remembered is labor's strong resentment of the early scientific technicians and efficiency experts who looked upon the workingmen as so many hands and feet to be put through certain prescribed motions.

The worker feels that he has much more to contribute to his job than brawn and skills. He may look upon conferences and committees as forms of slow torture, but he deeply wants the recognition that inheres in the right to have some voice in plant policy and operation.

Dignity

A related noneconomic goal is the workingman's desire to know the meaning of his job and to feel that his work is important. He wants to know how his particular task fits into the whole of a worth-while enterprise.

For a workingman to feel that his labor is unimportant, his efforts useless and wasted, is more damaging to self-esteem than almost anything that can happen to him. Hence the bitterness of many unemployed men who were assigned to insignificant relief jobs, poorly planned and badly managed, during the great depression of the thirties. Hence too the gnawing dissatisfaction of thousands of industrial workers in the inner recesses of large plants who never see the results of their efforts in the finished products.

A great deal has been said about the demoralizing effect of the assembly line where a worker performs a single, unvaried task all day long, day after day. There is evidence to show that repetitive work is not so damaging to morale as many have supposed. Far worse in its effect upon the worker is the feeling that his unexciting assignment is also unimportant.

During the recent war, worker morale was greatly stimulated whenever the Army or Navy sent men into the plants to explain the purpose and use in the war effort of the things the workers were helping to produce. Alert managers of large plants today are discovering the value of helping workers to understand the place of their particular jobs in the total enterprise.

There was a time when the craftsman derived great satisfaction from finishing a product and delivering it to a customer. Now very few workingmen, no matter how skilled they are, have anything like that experience. Yet the joy of achievement is close to being an elemental human need. To have a job with meaning and dignity, so that working brings satisfactions beyond wages, is something every worker wants.

Workers Are Human Beings

There is nothing unique or mysterious about these goals. Truth is that they are essentially the same as the goals cherished by people in nearly all walks of life. They spring from fundamental human motives, and workers are people.

The "demands" that labor makes in its bargaining relations with management can be identified in nearly every instance with one or another of these goals. Sometimes local situations lift up other issues. A union leader, for example, may be influenced by personal motives more than by what the workers really want, or a plant manager may be so negative in his attitude toward organized labor as to make collective bargaining ineffective. Apart from local deviations, however, the things that workingmen universally seek to achieve in their dealings with management, the things that make for satisfaction, may be expressed in the four goals: job security, a chance to advance, recognition as a part of the production team, and the feeling that their work is important.

Reprinted by Request!

The Church and Industrial Relations **is the title of a report on organized labor published by the Division of Social Education and Action at the request of the 154th General Assembly. A revised edition of the report was published in June and ought to be on the pamphlet shelf of every Presbyterian Church.**

A committee representing management, labor, the public, and the ministry studied the problems of our modern industrial society and the practical ways in which Christ's teachings might be applied to these problems, and our everyday industrial relationships. The many program ideas and recommended projects for local churches should help to acquaint the members of our churches with our Presbyterian concerns for Christian labor relations, and bring religion and labor together in American communities.

Order from your nearest Westminster Book Store. 10 cents.

A TALE OF TWO STORIES

By ALLAN L. SWIM, *CIO Publicity Director and Editor,* The CIO News.

About a dozen years ago, while working as a labor reporter, I was assigned to cover a river-front warehouse strike.

I wrote two stories. One told about the failure of negotiations and the walkout and picketing that followed. It was printed. The other told about the warehouse at which there was no strike. It wasn't printed.

Looking back at the incident, I am convinced that the story that was filed in the wastebasket was more important than the one that appeared on page one. It explained how a business firm and its employees had been able to work out mutual problems without conflict or any discord.

A strike makes news. Amicable settlement of problems doesn't. That's the reason most people who are not familiar with management-labor relations have the idea that industry and the unions are constantly at each other's throats. Each year, some 100,000 contracts between management and labor groups are signed—and from 97,000 to 98,000 of them are agreed to without strikes.

Representatives of the religious press and editors of the labor press *met for the first time last March at the National Conference of the Religion and Labor Foundation in Cincinnati, Ohio. With their vigorous exchange of problems and points of view, and their general agreement on common goals, a great gulf of misinformation was narrowed—even abridged.*

It was agreed that the bridge ought to provide for two-way traffic. Too few churches have recognized the maturity and stability of organized labor. Church and labor could do more to create contacts which would aid the interchange of news and interpret each group to the other. The channeling of church news, for example, through the Labor Press Association was suggested and explained. Likewise, labor news could be channeled through the Religious News Service and the Associated Church Press. It was pointed out that church groups should participate in the problems that arise among labor groups and that labor leaders should interpret their problems to the Church.

The assistant editor of Social Progress *had the privilege of moderating the editorial discussion, and working with Allan Swim and Robert Bollard, two labor editors who have contributed to this issue of* Social Progress.

Department of Labor figures give a fairly good idea of the magnitude of strikes. In 1948, for example, the total time lost because of strikes amounted to only thirty-seven one hundredths of one per cent of all time worked. Last year, the figure rose to fifty-nine one hundredths of one per cent.

Let's get one thing straight right now. Unions do not like strikes. They are troublesome and they are costly. But, from the viewpoint of workers, they are sometimes necessary.

This, however, is not an article about management-labor conflict. Rather, it will deal mostly with methods that have been employed successfully to avoid conflict.

First, let's switch back to the warehouse where there was no strike. It was the only one on the water front which wasn't being picketed.

"Can you tell me why your employees are not picketing you?" I asked the manager.

"I believe I can," he replied. "They're reasonably satisfied with their pay and working conditions."

Then he revealed the formula that had created this condition:

"I always try to provide my workers with everything they want that doesn't cost the company any money —and most of the things they request don't cost money. I have given them a real sense of job security. Nobody gets fired on the spur of the moment. We try to give everybody a second chance—and in some instances, they get a third chance. I pay slightly higher wages than the other warehouses, but my labor costs aren't as high as theirs because I can keep good workers on the payroll."

The manager of the plant then gave this illustration of how his system worked:

Production in a certain department began dropping one summer as the mercury climbed up into the 90°'s. The boss decided to find out why, if he could.

"I called some of the men together and asked them point-blank why their work was slacking off," he said.

"They told me bluntly that the place they were working was too hot, that they just couldn't 'put out' in the summer like they did in the winter.

"I asked them how the situation could be remedied and their spokesman said, 'Everything would be O.K. if you'd have a big exhaust fan installed over there near the ceiling.'

"I told them to pick out the kind of fan they wanted and that I'd buy it and have it installed.

"Production began increasing that very day—even before the fan was installed—and it got back to normal after it was installed.

"The installation cost several hundred dollars, but actually it didn't cost us anything. The increase in production more than paid for the fan in a few days."

This man, who died a few years after I interviewed him, had rare insight into the complicated thing which we usually refer to as management-labor relations. After his death, he was replaced by an "efficiency expert" who believed in the "treat 'em rough and tell 'em nothing" method of dealing with employees. Within a comparatively short time the company had a strike on its hands!

Usually good management-labor relations result from the simple fact that management and labor groups learn to understand and appreciate the problems of each other. Both groups, however, have to work at the job. There are quite a few examples of groups that instituted new schemes and techniques in successful attempts to create and maintain good relations.

One of the most outstanding of these can be found at George A. Hormel & Company, at Austin, Minnesota, where a strong company deals with a strong union. The Hormel packing firm had the usual high turnover of employees between the peak and slack seasons which is characteristic of the industry. The lack of job security was appalling both to the workers and to the head of the firm. So, a number of years ago Hormel instituted the full guaranteed annual wage. This provided a plan under which packing workers would be paid by the year instead of the hour, with the pay being distributed in fifty-two equal weekly installments.

After the program had been in effect for some time, it was learned that workers could often complete their yearly quota of production in less than a year—so production bonuses were instituted. Then, a profit-sharing plan was put into effect.

Many persons familiar with management-relations problems predicted that the plan would fail and the Hormel firm would go broke. But the plan didn't fail and the company actually profited from its operation. It stabilized employment and gave employees a real guarantee of security.

The Hormel plan probably would have been a failure if there had not been close co-operation between the management and the C.I.O. Packinghouse Workers Union, which represents Hormel employees.

There have been a number of strikes in the packing industry since the Hormel plan went into full effect, but none of them has involved George A. Hormel & Company. The last walkout at the Hormel plant was in 1933 and it resulted partly from workers' suspicion of the guaranteed annual wage program that had been proposed just a short time before.

The Hormel story is one of a great many that can be told illustrating good relations between management and labor. These are the stories about which the public needs to know. They are more important than news of labor trouble and strikes.

An App

USES OF "THE USELESS WAR"

Washington at this date (August 11) has not produced a name for the war in Korea. The President's early statement that we are not at war is less than satisfactory in view of the call for the draft, $10 billion emergency appropriation, and the need for control of credit and critical materials. Perhaps the hesitancy in naming the war in Korea is the fear that it may be the fuse to Asia and the atomic war—a war that will fulfill Keats's lines with "a sight too fearful for the feel of fear."

The man in the street in Washington generally approves the curse pronounced upon the war by the "disillusioned" American lieutenant in Korea who called it "the useless war." The advocates of strong military preparedness as the best guarantee of peace and the assurance of victory in war will agree that this is the useless war—one that could have been prevented or promptly settled by land power, sea power, air power, which is peace power. Korea is the result of "criminal unpreparedness" that invited attack, assured a bitter retreat and a costly fight back. Many spokesmen starting with "I told you so" will declare that this is the lesson of Korea. They will win strong support for "overwhelming armaments" now. The all-out armament drive will develop enormous momentum by fall if the Korean situation is clearly stabilized and firmly controlled by the United Nations, the "plain truth" being that our late, fortunately not too late, military strength delivered us from the disaster toward which the idealistic appeasement policies were heading us.

If this is the meaning we draw from Korea and we prepare "overwhelming armaments" for the defense of the Truman doctrine of containment on all the borders of Communism, we have learned nothing from "the useless war." There are three facts that are made starkly clear by the Korean conflagration in which American boys, Koreans both North and South, parents and children, are suffering and dying. As we cling to the edge of the abyss, let us confront the power advocates with realities that make their "solution" impossible.

One—The United States cannot police the world. Even to attempt it we would have to make America a "garrison state." We do not know what the

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Editorial comment is not limited to issues on which the General Assembly has made pronouncement. However, a sincere attempt is made here in dealing with the changing scene to reflect the letter and the spirit of the General Assembly statements.

to Faith

effort would cost in treasure, human freedom, and the lives of young men. However, having spent all for arms in far countries, U. S. strength would not be present in overwhelming power in Korea, Formosa, the Philippines, Indo-China, Iran, Greece, Austria, Germany. If we undertake to police the world, how long will we be able to meet the limitless demands upon our limited man power and declining resources? Today Congressional opinion considers as a minimum an arms program providing for expenditures of $25 billion annually for the next fifteen years—a total of $375 billion—more than the total cost of World War II.

Will fifteen years of this policy "frustrate" Russia, bring under control the revolution in Asia, and grant physical and psychological security to the American citizen forced to live under conscription and tightening controls in the arsenal of atomic weapons?

Two—The ideological war is the decisive conflict we must win. If this spiritual conflict for the mind and heart of the people is the critical battle, we must not permit Russia to draw us into a ruinous, ever-expanding war in Asia. Our struggle with Communism is for the allegiance of the oppressed masses of Asia. We cannot tolerate even the appearance of imperialism by an alliance with such puppets of colonial powers as Bao Dai and Chiang Kai-shek. Nehru has warned the West: "There will be no peace in Asia as long as one colonial power remains in that continent." In this ideological war a substantial amount of the $375 billion proposed for arms should be given instead to the United Nations for technical assistance and human welfare. This is essential if we are to win the allegiance of Asia to the freedom of democracy from the bondage of Communism that liberates nations only to liquidate their people.

Three—The United Nations has in the Providence of God come into being in time to order the affairs of nations in the world. Russia has notably failed the world community. Even we who appreciate how much we have at stake in a strong United Nations have not always acted within the spirit and the letter of the charter of the United Nations. The Korean crisis reveals both our success and failure in behaving as good members of the world community.

When a great power yields to the temptation to "jump the gun" it risks

(Continued on page 40)

THE LABOR PRESS SPEAKS FOR THE CHURCH

By **ROBERT D. BOLLARD**, *Editor,* **Illinois Labor**, *official publication of the Illinois State Industrial Union Council.*

If the Church and labor have much in common, as was generally agreed at the 1950 Conference of the Religion and Labor Foundation in Cincinnati, why don't more Church publications experiment with the idea of running feature articles, or even news stories about some phase of the labor movement? And, to turn it around, there is plenty of room for more labor publications to work more closely with the editors and writers of religious publications.

In my estimation, for what it's worth, I believe that religious and labor leaders on the whole are not co-operating quite enough to the end of resolving some of our problems and reaching our goals. Not that there isn't some work being done in the field—to the contrary, there just isn't enough.

First off, though, I want it understood that I don't agree that the Church should become so closely associated with a labor group that the end result is the Church practically "running the union." That experience, I believe, has led to unfortunate consequences in a few cases. There is too much chance that the Church may unconsciously develop a "clique" among union members which might seek some control over the union and its policies. Cliques, of any kind, are not healthy for any organization.

My idea of closer co-operation between Church and labor can be most easily illustrated by explaining the relationship existing between "my minister" and myself. I belong to the First Presbyterian Church of Chicago where Dr. Harold Leonard Bowman is the pastor. My association with this particular church dates back only about four years, for it was then that I moved to Chicago from Fort Dodge, Iowa.

Fortunately, Dr. Bowman and I seem to "hit it off" pretty well. In conversation he expresses considerable agreement to many points that I make. Listening to his sermons sometimes gives me an idea or material for an editorial in the newspaper, *Illinois Labor*, which I edit for the Illinois State Industrial Union Council, C.I.O.

I have approached Dr. Bowman several times after a Sunday sermon and expressed my sincere appreciation of the sermon he had just given. On one occasion, last February when our church observed Race Relations Sunday, I asked permission to print his sermon in the next issue of *Illinois Labor*. The reason was obvious.

The C.I.O. has long been in the forefront of the battle for civil rights, improved race relations, fair treatment in employment, education, health care, and housing. Men and women who work for the C.I.O., or any of its affiliated unions or councils, constantly find themselves speaking to groups on the subject of race relations, or appearing before a Congressional or legislative body in support of civil rights legislation, or sponsoring a conference on fair employment.

In his sermons, Dr. Bowman says the things that we in labor attempt to say and do in our everyday life. But he very ably "ties it in" with the church, the moral and spiritual obligation that all of us have to our fellow men. We both start at the same point and finish at the same point, but he arrives there by going "through the Bible" and its teachings, while we arrive there "through our constitution" and our program.

Several labor editors and leaders of unions commented favorably about Dr. Bowman's sermon in *Illinois Labor*. The general feeling was that we ought to praise a minister, priest, or rabbi when we considered him to be doing a good job. Too many times we, like most people, are quick to criticize and slow to compliment.

Not only were my readers happy and in agreement with the article, but Dr. Bowman expressed his gratitude as well. In fact, he requested some extra copies of that issue of the paper, which I am confident he put into the hands of other people.

Labor unions, at least at all conventions which I have attended, open every day's session with an invocation by a member of the clergy. We ask the minister, the priest, or the rabbi if he would care to speak to our group or comment about our convention, our problems, or our goals. Never has one refused. I believe clergymen welcome the opportunity of speaking to us, just as we appreciate having them.

I have suggested only a few methods for getting the Church and labor closer together. There are many more, such as inviting a labor official to speak at church gatherings, or co-operating on some educational or recreational project for the good of the whole community.

My experience has been that very few workers and union members attend church regularly with the satisfaction of belonging and getting something out of it. The problem has been raised by church leaders at a number of conferences. Maybe by closer association and co-operation between the Church and labor, the Church will reach more union members, religious leaders will become more familiar with the problems and aims of the labor movement, and our people everywhere will be better Christians and Jews.

THOSE CO-OPERATIVES— BANE OR BLESSING?

By **RALPH T. FULTON**, ***Stated Clerk of the Synod of Minnesota.***

THE 162d General Assembly recommended that:

"Our constituency be encouraged to make a careful study of the Co-operative Movement as one of the means by which economic democracy might be advanced."

That seems to me to be a very reasonable suggestion. Instead of being overpersuaded by the enthusiastic propaganda of the co-operatives themselves, or prejudiced by the groups opposing them for reasons more or less tinged by self-interest, why not look at them firsthand and make one's own conclusions? At least, a man can make a beginning.

A friend who is interested in co-operatives gave me my first introduction to the idea by the "case method." He took me to a small city of 2,500 people, Cambridge, Minnesota, a few miles north of Minneapolis, to see what their experience has been with the Co-operative Movement.

Farmers around Cambridge were in the same boat with the rest of us in the early thirties. Prices were way down. We were in the midst of the change from horses to tractors. Tractors were more efficient, but ate a lot of oil, something the farmers could not raise on their land. Oil and gas costs were prohibitive.

A few men who knew something about co-operatives talked things over and decided that there might be some help in that direction. In March, 1932, a planning meeting was held. Some simple rules were adopted: each member but one vote; shares priced at $10 each; not more than ten shares to any one member; and to prevent speculation, a limited rate of interest on stock.

Small Beginnings

A goal of 300 shares was set. A few months of hard work resulted in $2,800 pledged, $1,700 of it in cash. Only two men felt they could pay for more than one share! An "oil station" twelve by twenty-four feet was built—cost, $250. Two tanks were bought. First sale, August 20, 1932. First five months' net earnings, $1,272.66. A dividend of 12½ per cent was declared. Earnings the first year almost equaled the original amount of cash invested.

Early Precautions

Safeguards were erected to prevent possible abuses, for co-operators are just as human as big businessmen or politicians! "No employee of the association shall be on the board of directors." The manager could not hire any relatives of his or the directors as employees of the association. Credit was limited to thirty days. Board members received no pay, except $1 for each meeting they attended. The next year this was raised to $1.50, for not more than twelve meetings a year.

Steady Growth

One of the co-operators was so eager to go ahead that some of his friends thought he was a bit "touched." But they followed him. In two years, they built a two-story building, with basement; good oil station, with garage; upstairs a meeting hall and kitchen. But in 1934, they had to move to the high school auditorium for their annual meeting when 600 people turned out!

By this time the women were taking an active part, and they insisted on the association's buying a grocery store. This was done in February, 1935. By January 31, the following year, on sales of $49,174, savings amounted to $2,006, or 4.1 cents per dollar.

Then the association reached out into the country with branch groceries, oil stations, a hardware store, a locker plant, a funeral home, with assets totaling $370,000 owned by 2,500 members. In 1948, the members subscribed over $32,000 in cash for further expansion. Its yearly business is approximately $800,000.

Surely This Is Democracy

Ask the people of Isanti County, and they will say, "We own these things." And they have them under their own control. The man with $100 worth of shares votes with no more power than the man who has only $10 worth. Profits? There are none. In this organization, profits are savings. They may be paid to members in cash, or "plowed back" into the business, this to be decided at the annual meeting. But the organization is still owned by the members. Isn't that "income"? Well, hardly. Apparently it is as simple as this: Four men decide to buy a piece of farm machinery for common use. No one knows just what it may cost, but one man is entrusted with $1,000 by each of the other men to buy the machine. He buys it and pays $3,600, returning $100 to each of the other three men. Is that $100 income or savings?

High Salaries?

In Sweden, unless their rules have changed, no one in a co-operative can receive a salary more than five times as much as that of the lowest paid help. In Isanti County, the highest paid man gets $350 a month, the clerk in a store receives $155. Check that with your ordinary business, especially the salaries for managing an $800,000 per year business. Sounds like democracy.

Further Co-operation

This democratic procedure reaches out to the wholesale field. 596 of these small local co-ops in Minnesota, Wisconsin, and Iowa own common stock in the "Midland Co-operative Wholesale." Membership in this wholesale organization is limited to co-ops; no individuals can join. You might buy stock as an individual, but you would have no vote. The directors are scattered over the three states, none of them from a large city.

Does Co-operation Always Work?

Co-operatives are not always successful. Mistakes are as plentiful as in other kinds of organization, perhaps. So far, co-ops have found only human beings to run the business. Grocery stores have been started in Minneapolis and St. Paul, but only one or two of them survive. There must be some community spirit already existent in order to start such a store, and such a spirit is not always to be found in a large city. And yet we hear of some very successful grocery co-ops in some cities. Perhaps there is one in yours.

What About Taxes?

Co-ops pay taxes, contrary to what some of their critics would have us believe. Isanti County co-op last year paid over $5,000 in real-estate and personal property taxes, more than any other business in town. They did not pay an income tax, as a business. Neither did any other store in that city. If all the co-ops in the country were required to pay an income tax on their "savings," the amount received would hardly pay for the collecting of it. Incidentally, ANY business may adopt the plan of returning its profits to its customers, and pay no income tax on them.

Why the Opposition?

My observation makes it difficult for me to see why there should be such a concentrated and persistent attack upon co-operatives in this country. Is it because they are communistic? That cannot be, for there is no opportunity for any such dictatorship to enter into this sort of organization. Is it because they are socialistic? Socialism is Government ownership, and the Government has nothing to do with the ownership or management of co-ops. Are they inimical to the public welfare? Evidently not. Are they outside of our "free enterprise"? Or opposed to capitalism? Or do they stifle competition? None of these criticisms seems to be true of them.

Can it be that they are undemocratic? On the contrary, they are the most democratic of our varied methods of conducting business. They are OWNED, CONTROLLED, and CONDUCTED by the PEOPLE.

Perhaps that is the reason for the virulent and violent opposition. It is impossible for a man to become rich by being engaged as a co-operator. There is no opportunity for one man to make $100,000 a year, or any other great sum. No chance at all. And the co-ops are outspoken in favor of free and fair competition, and furnish plenty of competition to those who wish to gouge the public. So let's throttle them, say their opponents. And every sort of method, fair or foul, is now being used to secure legislation and manipulation to put the co-ops out of business.

Let's Be Fair

Let's give the co-ops a chance. They are unquestionably democratic. They are a boon to multitudes of communities made up of the "common people" whom, Lincoln thought, God must love because he made so many of them. In your community, why not look up such co-operatives as there may be, and get from them firsthand information as to their plans and purposes? The opponents of the co-ops are vocal. One organization alone is spending a half million dollars a year to destroy them. But before we judge who is right about them, as the General Assembly suggests, let's "make a careful study."

Watch for Violations!

Children under sixteen years, according to a new provision in the Federal Wage-Hour Act, may not be employed in agriculture (except for their parents on their home farms) during school hours.

This is probably the most important child labor measure enacted in the last ten years. If well enforced, it will protect many thousands of boys and girls all over the country, including the children of migrant farm families, who stay out of school to help cultivate and harvest the crops.

The Federal law does not require them to go to school—that is up to the states. But it will stop their employment during school hours, which is the chief reason for their nonattendance.

The inspectors of the Wage-Hour Division cannot possibly visit all the farms in the country whose products, immediately or after processing, go into interstate commerce.

You can help in this gigantic task of enforcement.

If you know of children, apparently under sixteen years, who are hired on farms (other than small family farms) while school is in session, won't you report it? You don't need to have the names of the children, but give the name and location of the farm as exactly as possible.

Send the information to the National Child Labor Committee, 419 Fourth Avenue, New York 16, New York, or to the Wage and Hour Division, U. S. Department of Labor, Washington 25, D. C.

Sanctuary

Call to Worship:

Let us worship God.
"God is a Spirit: and they that worship him must worship in spirit and truth."
"For you have need of endurance, so that you may do the will of God and receive what is promised."

Invocation:

Our God, and Father of all the toiling multitude, who through thy Son hast known weariness and want as well as the joy of creative work, bring to us, thy needy creatures, in all our struggle for rights and rewards, grace to see our every task in the light of thy will, and so be filled with peace and joy while sharing in the world's great work.

Hymn: "O Master Workman of the Race."

Scripture: Amos 8: 4-6; Matt. 7: 24-27.

Affirmation of Faith:

"We believe that the law of God, revealed in the Ten Commandments, and more clearly disclosed in the words of Christ, is forever established in truth and equity, so that no human work shall abide except it be built on this foundation. We believe that God requires of every man to do justly, to love mercy, and to walk humbly with his God; and that only through this harmony with the will of God shall be fulfilled that brotherhood of man wherein the kingdom of God is to be manifest." Amen.

—Brief Statement of the Reformed Faith, Art. XIII.

Meditation:

Organized labor made great forward strides during the first half of this century. The right to collective bargaining, limitation on working hours with the eight-hour day as the norm, elimination of child labor in most sections of the country, safer and more sanitary working conditions, protective legislation for women and children in industry, and now in many places systems of old-age pensions besides the social security laws of the nation, is a partial list of achievements.

To gain these objectives labor has fought a long and many times bitter fight, and since it was a real warfare, strong measures were used on both sides of the struggle. This often left feelings of bitterness and suspicion in its wake, calling for reprisals and counterreprisals.

In some parts of the country this fight for recognition of basic rights and better working conditions is still in full cry. Legal and law-enforcing machinery is, in some sections, used both legally and illegally to keep organized labor from getting a foothold. Yet, labor is forging ahead and registering gains even in the most backward areas. Nevertheless, it is apparent to all thinking people that organized labor is now an accepted part of American life and has come to stay.

One must admit that in the beginning of this upsurge of the workingman to gain his rights, the Church tended to range itself on the side of ownership and management, or to deal with the problem in vague generalities and ambiguities which partisans could appropriate to their own satisfaction. There were, however, many exceptions to this. Sensitive spirits within the Church, and individual church bodies, saw clearly that the Church could not remain neutral on issues that involved basic justice between man and man. And so they took their stand firmly and publicly.

Our own denomination has perhaps not earned the right to stand first among those who came to the aid of the oppressed; but it has done much to clarify the issues involved, and focus upon them the light of the Christian gospel. Among some of the most significant measures taken by our Church were "The Church and Industrial Relations" report and the establishment and maintenance of the Presbyterian Institute of Industrial Relations.

In the broader Church field, the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America has played a consistent and constructive part in the promotion of right relations and understanding throughout the whole economic sphere. This effort culminated in two significant conferences on "Church and Economic Life." The first of these was held in Pittsburgh, in 1947, and the second at Detroit, in 1950. The reports of these conferences are worthy of close study by every person interested in industrial progress and peace.

Thus, both labor and the Church stand at the half-century mark with the satisfaction of real advance. Yet, there is on the part of both a deepening awareness that the task is continuous with every changing aspect of human life.

The Church for its part must ever be ready to speak out for justice and fairness in specific cases. But above all, it must press that larger claim which brings all men, in whatever relation or circumstances, under the compulsion of the will of God. For it is in finding and conforming to that will that labor in particular and mankind in general have any hope of making their gains valid.

Prayer:

O God, we confess before thee our personal and social transgressions, and crave thy pardon for our slowness of heart, and blind indifference. Lead us to a fuller understanding of our oneness with thee and that love which binds man to man in the household of faith. Save us from the power urge of our age and make our spirits sensitive to wrongs suffered by others. Let no desire for gain or imagined advantage blind our eyes to gross inequalities in opportunities or exploitation of man by man. Kindle in our souls a deep passion for goodness and truth.

Thou eternal Father, who hast planted these hopes in our hearts and flashed on our imagination the vision of a better world, help us so to dedicate our lives that we may be fit instruments in thy hands to build, at least in part, that Kingdom for which we pray. Amen.

Benediction:

"The God of peace, that brought again from the dead our Lord Jesus, that great Shepherd of the sheep, through the blood of the everlasting covenant, make you perfect in every good work to do His will, working in you that which is well-pleasing in His sight; through Jesus Christ, to whom be glory for ever and ever. Amen."

—Prepared by Rev. S. Martin Eidsath, pastor, First Presbyterian Church, Gardena, California.

THE MINISTERS TRY SOCIAL ACTION

By **REV. FRANK CLEVELAND MARTICK**, ***Minister, Westminster Presbyterian Church, South Bend, Indiana.***

WHEN Bendix Local No. 9, UAW, C.I.O., walked out of the South Bend Bendix Products Division and the Bendix Aviation Corporation on strike on April 20, 1949, we knew it might be serious. But no one dreamed that weeks would pass without a hint or hope of settlement. Claims and counterclaims by labor and management made fair judgment of the case almost impossible. Our ministers' committee of nine included the president, the president-elect, and the executive secretary of the council of churches, a Jewish rabbi, and representatives from the major Protestant denominations. It was commissioned originally as a fact-finding group to help the ministers and their congregations to understand a critical situation. In May when we first met we did not presume or even attempt to settle anything, and thereby begins a tale!

The strike had a background of unrest in the brake-shoe department reaching back at least to 1945. The corporation's side of the story was ably presented by their top men, the general manager, a vice-president, and the industrial relations manager. At the beginning the corporation was very gracious in granting us an interview immediately and at great length. Their claim was that they had caught forty-seven men in the brake-shoe department cheating on their time cards. They had watched and discovered that the men were reporting more "downtime" than was legitimate. Under the incentive piecework plan, when machines sometimes break down or the supply line fails for a time, and a man or a group of operators must shut down their machines until they can work again, the corporation allows an agreed amount for "downtime" to compensate for this lost time. The forty-seven men were warned that they would get only legitimate downtime and be strictly called to account for it. At the same time the corporation pointed out that it would expect the department to produce almost the same number of brake shoes. When the union objected that this was in essence a "speedup," and countered with a "slowdown," the corporation discharged the forty-seven men and named four of them troublemakers. It was a violation of contract, the corporation said, since it was not a wage rate dispute and therefore under their contract not subject to either arbitration or umpire.

The ministers' next move was to get an interview with the union strike committee. After several unsuccessful attempts to reach the strikers, the chairman of our committee and I went down to the union hall for an interview. It was obvious that the union committee was suspicious of us. However, they told us their story, which, of course, differed like day and night from the corporation's position.

The union held that the corporation had been allowing an arbitrary amount of downtime each day on every time card, not only to take care of actual downtime, but also to bring wages in that department up to a level the workers thought right, without going through contract negotiations. Therefore the union felt this was a wage rate dispute subject to umpire, since it changed wage rates. To back up their charges, the union further claimed that the corporation-loyal foreman had approved this rate of downtime for some years over his signature, that higher superintendents also knew of it and winked at it, giving thereby their tacit approval. Now suddenly the corporation wanted to get "righteous" and call it cheating! But the union held that they should either submit it to arbitration or reopen contract negotiations. This the corporation adamantly refused to do, and continued to regard it as a "breach of contract." Here the union leader wryly observed that since the lush profits of wartime production were passing and competition was keener, this was one way the corporation could cut corners. The union claimed that if time records were open to impartial investigation they would show their claims to be right. But such inspection was not allowed. As we walked out into the dismal night rain we remarked: "Now which side is lying? They both can't be right!"

Negotiations stalemated at this point and the economic picture in the community grew more difficult. One of Reuther's top men from Detroit had come down, made some proposals which almost settled the strike, and then suddenly and mysteriously he went back to Detroit and nothing more was heard from headquarters until the end of the strike.

Eventually even the Federal mediators were stymied and the governor called the disputing parties to Indianapolis and proposed a plan. It would have ended the strike and sent the men back to work while new rates were worked out and a few men were disciplined. Reluctantly the corporation agreed to it. The union submitted it to a vote.

By now the ministers' actions were much in the news. Almost every group in town, including our committee of nine, urged the union to take a secret ballot. But for some reason they refused, and a standing vote was taken on the governor's plan, with impartial observers present.

Perhaps some of the men were afraid to vote publicly against their officers. Anyway the governor's plan lost, the Federal mediator went back to Detroit, and everyone just seemed to settle down "for a long winter's nap." Our committee had tried to encourage where encouragement was justified, criticize where blame really lay, and needle all parties to action for the good of the community. But at that point we had not taken any actual mediatorial action.

After much deliberation we decided, not entirely unanimously, though all went along with it, to offer a plan of settlement. We took the governor's plan, cut it down a bit, and offered the union a few more concessions perhaps than they had had before. Our hope was simply to get men back to work.

The newspapers thought they had the trail of a good story when there was no real news, and grabbed our plan of settlement and spread it in the headlines. The union welcomed the plan. Perhaps they were partially convinced that we wanted to be of help.

Corporation officials were furious and flatly rejected our plan. They even refused to consider it! But public opinion was now against them, for now they too had rejected something for the welfare of the community. Talk in "big business" circles took an uncomplimentary turn about preachers. Things in the city looked blacker than ever, though there was practically no violence.

Then something happened that tipped the balance for the union. Bendix had been making parts for the landing gear of the United States B-36 planes, and these planes were grounded in many parts of the world for want of parts. The principals to the strike were called to Washington by Air Force Secretary Symington. Union officials from Walter Reuther down to the local officers, as well as the absentee corporation president and local company men found themselves facing a cabinet officer who is a man of action and a former businessman. What was said behind closed doors is known only by way of "leakage." Our understanding however, is that Symington put them in separate rooms, told them the military situation and that he wanted a settlement and production "or else."

In just a few hours the strike was settled and the men went back to work. The troublemakers were reprimanded and a few disciplined, but everyone was happy to be on the job again. July 4, 1949, was a real celebration, while the ministers went home to catch up on lost sleep.

In certain parts of the business community our activity in the strike is still held against us, mostly on the basis that labor relations are not the business of religion. But by and large there are heartening indications that "the little fellow" in the community realizes that the Church of Jesus Christ is concerned about his and his community's welfare, and that justice be done in the market place. The Church was there!

SOCIAL PRESSURES THAT SHORT-CIRCUIT SPIRITUAL POWER

By **WINNIFRED WYGAL**, *author and lecturer, leader in International Christian Student Conferences.*

DO YOU believe that the Christian who lives in 1950 in America is or can be different from other people who make no religious professions?

Think of Johnny and the gunmen he sees on the television. Think of Sarah and her crowd who go for cocktails after golf or tennis. Think of Mr. Jones or Mr. Smith, who, although leaders in the church, are involved in enormous business transactions where many of their colleagues feel that business realism is one thing and religious idealism another. Think of the Greens, who though their salary is small have always prided themselves on living in a restricted neighborhood, when a new housing authority insists upon nonsegregated housing and a Negro family moves in next door.

I have imagined these hypothetical illustrations at random. Yet they represent some of the chief social pressures that play upon us today.

Shall we name first the women in our churches who do not *want* their Christianity to make them different? They want a comfortable, popular way of life. They want social approval more than high integrity.

One of the marks of maturity, as well as of Christian integrity, is to accept and admit that our Christian faith is one of the great GIVENS, and it is no more for us to alter it or try to make it suit our own petty view than it is for us to try to stop this planet from revolving around the sun. Jesus *did* teach that all men are brothers and that all is free and equal between them, and if we cannot rise to that level of insight and spirit, and many of us seem to be unable to do so, let us acknowledge on our knees our frailty and finiteness and not seek to make Jesus or the faith he brought to us over into

The social concerns of Christians were important at the Quadrennial Meeting of Presbyterian Women at Ocean Grove. Problems of alcoholism, racial prejudice, economic injustice were presented in plenary session addresses and discussed in forty commission groups. These excerpts from an address by Winnifred Wygal, who opened the symposium on social pressures, show the scope of the thinking of our women.

our pigmy and cowardly patterns.

I heard a Christian leader say recently that the Christian Church will be the last social institution in America really to abolish racial segregation and create equality and brotherhood for all. We rejoice that the Supreme Court has ruled out segregation in dining cars and in higher education. The big-league baseball teams have acted. The labor unions, especially the C.I.O., have long since been interracial. The fraternities are beginning to act, and most of us would have said that they would be the last to move. The President of the United States has spoken about segregation in the Army and the Navy; the United Nations has spoken in the act of entrusting one of its most delicate and triumphant jobs to Dr. Ralph Bunche.

Yes, and the Church bodies have spoken: The Federal Council, the World Council, and denominational national bodies have spoken about the issue of equality and justice and fraternity between Negroes and whites. Yet because of *us*—the people who sit in the pews—it can be said that even yet there are far too few Negroes and Chinese and Japanese in our choirs, in our church offices, in our pulpits, and in our pews. Public opinion among us, the parishioners, could work miracles and could put teeth into the fine pronouncements of our General Assembly body.

Yes, there are some of us who do not want to break with the social barriers and the man-made ostracisms of this society. Others of us use the method of escape. Others won't admit that there is a problem. Some of us will admit that there is a problem but not that it is reasonable to link it up with Christian ethics and living. Most of us rationalize. "We will do more harm than good," we say. Such rationalization is no different from things said by the Dixiecrats or the prejudiced who make no religious professions, and they are denounced by those nonchurch humanitarians who hew to the line of brotherhood more nobly than some of us.

The Economic Issue

But the relationships of races in this world today are almost as child's play compared to the economic struggle in which we find ourselves. Money in and of itself is not bad. When Jesus said how hard it is for a rich man to enter the Kingdom of Heaven, he did not mean that riches in themselves keep us out of the Kingdom of God. He meant, rather, that the temptation to power over others that riches make possible is a dangerous threat to humility, equality, brotherhood, and community. Hence, we must fight against poverty as well as monopolies. Much of the displeasing exercise of power which we see in some of our great labor unions today, now that they are more secure in the American scene, is due not only to the faults of human nature common to all of us, but also to the long and unrewarding struggle in this country which labor had to make before gaining recognition.

This question of the relation of money, even our small daily incomes, to motive, to attitudes, to psychological drives for power and greed and status, is the question which must keep us searching ourselves day in and day out. This economic issue will affect our petty economies, and determine our political party affiliations, our social contacts, our educational choices, and the nature of our business investments.

Our economic views and philosophy affect our international outlook, our understanding of various political philosophies, and our decisions about who shall represent us in the Government, and what we shall think about the armament program or the ECA program or labor unions. The hazard is that because of failure to re-examine our convictions we shall drift with unenlightened public opinion, or even with vicious and hateful forces, until we are the unwitting and unwilling collaborators in another war and similar evils of oppression and snobbishness, both in the narrower realm of our personal lives and in the broader realm of government and world affairs.

Christianity—Personal or Social?

As Christians there can be no demarcation between something called personal and something called social Christianity. There is no way of separating one from the other. I am one person, and there is no way of separating my spiritual experiences from my material experiences.

None of our human panaceas will bring in the Kingdom of God. Not the Democratic or the Republican parties, not the Socialist or the Communist philosophy, will make a perfect world in which there is no injustice and no suffering. But that fact does not absolve us from trying always to approximate God's will and make a more tolerable world for men. This approximation will not look the same to each of us. That is all right. The real issue is not uniformity; it is: Are we thinking? Are we praying? Are we examining our prejudices? Are we fighting complacency in ourselves and seeking as hard as we can to find the right way both for ourselves and for society?

Of course, we must and can be different from those in the secular world who do not make our religious professions. We can be creators, with God and with Jesus Christ, of a new way of life. We are called to a direct and daily encounter with God. By living deeply, reborn each day and renewed for each relationship, we can make of all life an adventure, something new. Into politics, into our business, into our family relationships, and into the work of the Church itself, we shall move by the winds of the spirit.

CHRIST'S STANDARD OR THE *STATUS QUO?*

Young adults in Leonia, New Jersey, applied their spiritual stethoscopes some months ago to some highly controversial problems in present-day economic life. These were discussed and measured against the Christian ethic. The report, entitled "Our Economic Future," pointed out the unmistakable duty of the Church "to maintain and better the Christian standard for economic life."

These are some of the responsibilities of the Church listed in the report:

1. The Church must be equipped with full and accurate data on problems of economy. It is an active participant in economic life through its members who are the employers and employees. Thus, it must deal with such problems as wages, working conditions, fair prices for standard goods, and relations with labor unions.
2. It must discover and proclaim the truth about economic conditions and fight any injustices.
3. It must keep the congregation and community informed and develop in people an unprejudiced Christian attitude in the approach to economic problems.
4. The Church should promote the practice of honesty in economy.
5. It must promote increased cooperation between individuals and groups in economic life.
6. It must advocate widespread participation in decisions that affect our economic destiny.
7. It must promote equal opportunity for all and work against those special forms of economic injustice expressed through racial discrimination. For instance, under the Constitution, this right is guaranteed to everyone by freedom of choice by ballot. However, all people do not have this right, as evidenced by the poll tax and literacy tests of the South.
8. The Church must continually fight against economic institutions which increase self-interest in men and regard money as the chief good.
9. It must help economic groups to become more broad-minded and to settle their disputes more harmoniously.
10. It must see that the youth of this country have equal opportunities for competition with others of the same ability and training.
11. It is a recognized fact that the churches have too often neglected industrial communities. When an area becomes industrial, the Church moves out. The Church must see that religion reaches these people through the establishment of churches or carefully planned industrial chaplaincies.
12. The Church should seek to include in its membership all elements in our economic life. Membership never should be limited to one class of people.

The young people also came to grips with the problems that constantly confront Christian workers—problems of dishonesty and injustice that bring their jobs and their faith into ceaseless conflict. They analyzed the vocational requirements of various categories of employment and the need for vocational guidance and training—again in the light of Christian ideals. They resented the stigma often imprinted on manual work, and the pseudostatus and prestige associated with white-collar and management jobs.

WORTH LOOKING INTO

"What Made Them Turn Red?" is the title of a thoughtful, well-written article by Arthur Schlesinger, Jr., in *Look*, August 1, 1950. The Harvard historian analyzes why so many Americans of idealism and good will got interested in Communism in the 1930's, and proposes a reasonable and "wise counsel for Americans concerned with past sympathies with communism." "In the thirties," he writes, "men of good will, for honorable and generous reasons, believed in the possibility of co-operation with the Communist movement. If they have awakened from their dreams, there seems no reason to punish them permanently for what was a generous error . . . . Today, however, the range of motives for sympathy with communism is narrow: a lust for power; a malignant envy; . . . a profound and pathological sense of rejection by existing society. We cannot afford to encourage those who are the sworn enemies of our system of freedom."

"Union at Work" is a new 24-minute, 16 mm. sound motion picture, the first comprehensive account of the workings of a C.I.O. union. It is the story of the 450,000 members of the Textile Workers Union of America as filmed on location in the mills, union halls, and homes of textile workers.

Rev. Van H. Eakes, Oakland, California, greets congregation in "come as you are" clothes.

Labor history, organizing, collective bargaining, strikes, grievance handling, political action and union democracy are dealt with in a way to make these clear and significant to union members and the general public. Rental, $4.00. Available from Film Division, C.I.O. Department of Education and Research, 718 Jackson Place, N. W., Washington 6, D. C.

A study of America's capacity to consume more goods from abroad has been undertaken by The Twentieth Century Fund and the National Planning Association. Leaders of both organizations stress the importance of creating positive U. S. import policies designed to reduce the dollar shortages abroad which prevent free nations from buying American goods.

Directors of the research plan to visit American industrial plants and to consult representative leaders in agriculture, business, finance, labor, and the professions. Hopefully, the final, full report will be ready by the fall of 1951, giving factual details on the items which the U. S. could import, analyses of their effects on U. S. employment and production, and recommendations for American import policy.

On-the-spot investigations of good, constructive labor-management relationships are reported in seven case studies in *The Causes of Industrial Peace Under Collective Bargaining.* Such leading American firms as Lockheed Aircraft, Nashua Paper Company, Libbey-Owens-Ford Glass Company, and Sharon Steel Corporation have been studied with abundant and compelling evidence that honest-to-goodness collective bargaining does it, and does it without strikes, slowdowns, or paternalism! Order single copies of Case Studies Nos. 1-7 at $1.00 each. National Planning Association, 800 21st Street, N. W., Washington 6, D. C. Future articles in SOCIAL PROGRESS will carry reviews of these cases. They should be very useful for sermons and speeches.

Some startling facts about gambling and its insidious moral, economic, social, and psychological effects are presented in *The Annals* of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, May, 1950. Although gambling is almost universal among people of all ages and cultures, there has been very little objective analysis of the problem. Therefore, this objective symposium on the subject will be welcomed by ministers and laymen alike. Don't let the title of the periodical intimidate you. The articles are very readable! The American Academy of Political and Social Science, 3817 Spruce Street, Philadelphia 4, Pennsylvania. Single copies, $2.00.

The opposition to slum clearance and low-rent housing programs under the Federal Housing Act of 1949 is spreading distorted facts and misinformation to confuse and frighten American citizens. *The Truth About Public Housing* is an attractive, easy-to-read pamphlet explaining what public housing does and does not do, and refuting the irresponsible charges that are being made against it. This pamphlet is available from the National Housing Conference, 1025 Vermont Avenue, N.W., Washington 5, D. C. Single copy, 15 cents; 10 copies, $1.25.

A TV story of the Marshall Plan in action has been running over the American Broadcasting Company TV networks since Saturday, June 24, from 9:00 to 9:30 P.M. E.D.T. The Economic Co-operation has released these documentary movies made by ECA missions to acquaint Europeans with the objectives and workings of the Marshall Plan. The films have been given commercial distribution in the regular motion-picture houses in many Marshall Plan countries, always in the language of the country concerned. They are carried also by sound and projection trucks to the small towns and villages where there are no motion-picture theaters.

Citizenship

SOCIAL SECURITY—As this goes to press, the House-Senate conferees have just reached final agreement on the bill. Swift approval of the compromise measure is expected in both houses. Approximately 10,000,000 more workers will be brought under coverage, with benefits being increased on an average of about 77½ per cent. Voluntary coverage is provided for employees of nonprofit organizations, if their agencies agree. An agency must certify that two thirds of the employees desire coverage before it can accede to this. Coverage is then limited to those who vote for it and to employees later hired. A Senate provision authorizing the use of public funds for private child welfare institutions remains in the bill, despite protestations of groups concerned over Church-State issues.

The payroll tax on employers and employees will remain at 1½ per cent for the next three years, but will be increased periodically thereafter until it reaches 3¼ per cent in 1970.

MIGRATORY WORKERS—On June 3, 1950, the President, by executive order, appointed a five-man commission to make a broad study of migratory workers, their needs, problems, and conditions. Prof. Maurice T. Van Hecke, of the law school of the University of North Carolina, is chairman. The commission is to report to the President not later than December 15.

FEPC—On July 12, for the second time this year, Administration forces failed to block debate on a motion to take up the FEPC bill (S. 1728). The move fell nine votes short of the necessary 64 ayes, and the matter has been dropped indefinitely.

POINT FOUR—On July 17, the Senate Appropriations Committee voted to restore $34,500,000 for this program of technical assistance to the backward areas of the world. Of this amount, $12,000,000 is pledged to a United Nations program, $8,100,000 will support United States programs already organized and operating, particularly in Latin America, and $14,400,000 is available for a new United States program to help provide technical skills and education through bilateral arrangements with countries requesting aid.

MUNDT-NIXON BILL—At this writing, Senate Democratic leaders are working on a compromise antisubversive bill aimed primarily at Communists and embracing some features of this controversial measure. Informed sources say the plan favored by policy leaders will not include all the provisions of this Republican measure and will probably be patterned after the less stringent "internal security" bill passed by the House.

MILITARY FUNDS—The lid is off in Washington these days as far as military expenditures are concerned. The total requested now for the Defense Department for the 1951 fiscal year is $25,155,930,000, an increase of about $12 billion since the opening of the Korean crisis. In addition to this, the President has requested a total of five and a quarter billion dollars for foreign arms aid to "build up the West's defenses against Communism."

ECONOMIC STABILIZATION—Senate and House committees have agreed early in August on bills which give broad power to the President to control prices and wages. Under the legislation, he can try voluntary methods or selective regulations, or go immediately into blanket controls at any time he sees the need.

STATEHOOD FOR ALASKA AND HAWAII—The statehood bills have both been passed by the House. At press time they are awaiting action in the Senate. Chances have dimmed, however, for early Senate consideration of these bills; but if they could be brought to vote, they might pass.

An Appeal to Faith

(*Continued from page 21*)

offending the pride of independent nations. Sovereign powers do not have much enthusiasm for decisions that have even the appearance of a satellite's "me too" consent. Here our action included steps that are unacceptable to some member nations of the Security Council. In addition to military support for South Korea Mr. Truman also included Formosa and Indo-China under our protection—action which India and other nations that have recognized Communist China are not willing to support. These nations force the dilemma of fighting under the United Nations flag in Korea with United States troops under a United States general who is commander of the UN forces, and yet not supporting the rest of the United States forces' objectives in Asia. (See James Reston, *The New York Times,* July 20.)

The integrity and authority of the United Nations must be magnified if it is to fulfill its mission in establishing world order. The ease with which we inadvertently "bypass" the United Nations is illustrated by certain statements that it may be necessary for the United States forces to cross the 38th parallel, perhaps cover "the whole Korean area."

To the man in the street that news means this is a United States decision. Mr. Dulles, when asked "who will decide whether or not our armies go into North Korea," replied, "I presume that decision will be made by the United Nations." Exactly! That body should review the question of Formosa and Indo-China. The UN decision should be our policy.

The Korean action makes it clear that a United Nations plan for the control of conventional and atomic weapons and the command of armed forces that will replace the "vigilante" action of nations with true police action by the world community are imperative. The security problem cannot wait. The importance of its solution vastly exceeds that attached to the solution of the problem of atomic fission during the war. It must have even more determined, exhaustive study by the most able representatives of the nations. If after a reasonable period—of 18-hour days!—the committee has not solved the problem, they should be replaced with new members by a world community that is determined that somewhere there is the mind and heart that can solve this problem of all problems.

It is time to write the President, our representatives in government, UN Secretary Lie, news editors, radio stations, encouraging UN action to end aggression. Christians everywhere will pray that representatives of the nations may be granted the wisdom, courage, and faith to bring the UN through the Korean ordeal and establish with enhanced prestige the authority of the world community. —*Paul Newton Poling.*

THE "MORE" IS THE TASK OF THE CHURCH

By **JOHN H. REISNER**, *Executive Secretary, Agricultural Missions, Inc.*

In a very real sense the Point Four and other U. S. Governmental technical and economic assistance programs put the Church on the spot in certain aspects of its overseas missions work. It is true that the foreign missions enterprise has pioneered in modern education, medicine, agriculture, literacy, work with women and children. No group of private agencies has such great accomplishments to their credit. Pre-eminently it is the work of missionaries and their national colleagues that created the "reservoir of good will" discovered by the late Wendell Willkie, now at a much lower level than when he discovered it and at a time when the United States needs it more than at any time in its history.

The overseas work of the Church has been centered in the countries of the world which the Point Four program of technical assistance refers to as "underdeveloped" in Asia and Africa. It's a long way from Washington to the villages of Asia, even by way of Lake Success. But that road has been built and traveled a long time by our missionaries. The Church is already there, although in no great strength, but with understanding, experience, and great potential power.

The people of the underdeveloped lands are predominantly rural people —villagers. It is among them that one finds the greatest depth of poverty, the smallest per capita production, little earning power, general ill-health due to inadequate nutrition, poor housing, and disease, and in general the greatest social and economic disabilities of all the people. But it is among these same people that the Younger Churches are being established, one hundred and twenty thousand with a membership of over twelve million, served by an estimated one hundred thousand pastors, evangelists, and Bible teachers. These are the expanding cells of Christianity in a non-Christian world, witnessing to a Christian faith and to a Christian way of life.

The ultimate value of the Point Four and other technical assistance programs, to my mind, depends primarily on the help that can be brought to bear on these problems of daily village living. It must be conceived as a long-time project. Certainly it should be based on bipartisan foreign policy and provide the greatest degree of co-operation with other Governments. Bringing help to the mass of people in these countries is a vast and intricate problem. It is not simply more fertilizers, better machinery, or more expanded health facilities. It involves better land use practices, varied engineering projects, reforestation, water control and irrigation, transportation, marketing, credit, land tenure reforms, more equitable taxation, medical services, educational facilities, and above all the co-operation and participation of the people.

Uncle Sam's Mission and Ours

As church people we are involved in these assistance programs in two ways. First, we are the Christian citizens whom our Government represents, who will pay the costs and in large measure create the public opinion that Congress will want back of it—indeed, must have back of it—as the program expands. Secondly, as members of the Church we still share heavy responsibility for maintaining a Christian witness in these countries through our total overseas missionary program.

As responsible Christian citizens, we should insist that our U.S.A. personnel related to these assistance programs should represent the highest and best in our own country. Technical competence is not enough. Our Government missionaries—for that is what they will be in effect—must have respect for the people to whom they go, and understanding of the culture and civilization in which they operate. The kind of person who represents the United States on any given project should be as important as the project itself.

We are a powerful and proud Government. Our motives will be questioned and the pages of the Congressional Record will provide some substance for lack of confidence in us. The more nearly our motivations and ideals can be Christian, the more effective will our efforts be. Surely we are strong enough to put the needs of these underdeveloped countries first. This may be poor politics, but it will be good statesmanship. It will be our most effective reply to the diabolical propaganda now being hurled against us.

Our Government should make wide use of public and private institutions and agencies. On a small but significant scale we have had our Cornells, Princetons, Oberlins, Smiths in China. We need now to relate on a wide scale some of our colleges of agriculture, home economics, engineering, medicine, social work, and so on, to similar institutions—to strengthen the technical training in the countries concerned. In all these countries the supply of technically trained and service-motivated men and women is woefully inadequate to meet prevailing needs. Without trained men, money will have little significance. The experience of the New York

State College of Agriculture in co-operating in a crop improvement program with the College of Agriculture and Forestry of the University of Nanking points the way for a major contribution to technical assistance and the creation of good will that should be duplicated wherever possible. We are a democratic nation. A little co-operation on the part of Government with some of our technical institutions would be a good demonstration that, after all, government is only an agent of its people. The wider objectives of our assistance programs can't be attained by government. It should be a channel that provides for the contributions of many citizens.

Better to Live By

As Christians and Church members we should realize at once that the problems of the people in these underdeveloped countries are not wholly economic and material. They are quite as much in the realm of the nonmaterial. Obviously they do need something more to live *with* but they equally need something better to live *by*. By and large they are religious people and the gods in whom they have put their trust still provide the basis of the faith by which they meet life's problems. We propose as a democratic government to help provide better agriculture, better health, better homes, better education, the elimination of poverty, disease, and illiteracy by the application of our scientific knowledge to their immediate problems of field and shop, home and community. We propose to export our technical know-how and our dollars to pay for it. Is that the best Christian America can do for these people who will be in need of a new faith to live by as the applications of modern science overtake the powers of the ancient gods and undercut the faith that still gives meaning to life and makes it worth struggling for? Here is where the Church, it seems to me, is on the spot, for it challenges us as never before to demonstrate on a wide scale that Christianity is for all of life. These villagers live life as a unity and our mistaken separation into secular and sacred has no meaning to them.

The program developed by Dr. and Mrs. Hugh W. Hubbard, Congregational Christian missionaries of the American Board, aided the first year by two Chinese colleagues, provides an illustration of aid to impoverished people that was designed to redeem the whole man and minister to the entire life of a community. By their examples and friendly precepts the villagers improved their agriculture, dug wells, planted trees, and organized a co-operative society. Vaccination campaigns against smallpox were organized, classes for midwives were held, food demonstrations and better baby exhibits were put on. Literacy classes were held.

Women gathered regularly in neighbors' homes for meetings and organized special help in times of illness, death, difficulty, or need. The young people organized a fellowship for self-improvement, for service to the village.

A new program of village recreation developed which included drama with local talent. A village reconstruction association was begun with committees on education, health, livelihood, recreation, and religion. Marriage and burial customs were reformed. Village government was greatly improved. An increased spirit of service, sacrifice, and co-operation for the common good spread through the community. There was no preaching. There was in the whole village to begin with only the Christian home of the Hubbards. At the end of two years thirteen family groups, comprising forty-nine people, took the first steps toward church membership. The whole life of the community had been touched—there was more to live with and the beginnings of a new faith to live by. No program looking simply to the provision of more physical goods could have done all this for the people. That is why American help must be more than material and the "more" is the task of the Church.

New Life and a New Order

The Church, then, has its own distinctive contribution to make in giving new meaning and purpose to life, but it can't be made in a material vacuum. The missionary program of the Church has generally recognized this fact but much remains to be done in making the witness of the Younger Churches and their millions of members apply to their environment. The Church in the underdeveloped countries is being challenged as never before that its God can redeem community as well as personal life. That challenge comes straight back to the membership of our own churches, nowhere else. Meet it we must!

Plowshares for Peace

A new variety of CARE package contains an easily assembled, single-wheel hand plow weighing fifteen pounds net. Designed primarily for the small-holding farmers of India and Pakistan, it may eventually be shipped also to other Far Eastern countries.

Though basically intended for manual operation, the plow is adaptable for use with bullocks or other draft animals. Orders for CARE's plow package may be forwarded through any local CARE (Co-operative for American Remittances to Europe) outlet or directly to CARE headquarters, 20 Broad Street, New York, N. Y.

The price of the plow package is $10 and includes guaranteed tax-free delivery anywhere in India and Pakistan.

UNITED NATIONS WEEK

October 16-24, 1950

The United Nations General Assembly has proclaimed October 24 as United Nations Day, and in this country October 16 to 24 is being celebrated as United Nations Week. People in all nations are called upon to give thought and emphasis to UN's achievements and to devote study and prayer to its efforts for world order and peace with justice.

Churches have a pivotal place in these world-wide observances of United Nations Week, and the program suggestions here have been prepared by the Church Peace Union and World Alliance for International Friendship Through Religion.

NEARLY one hundred organizations in the United States will co-operate in the United Nations Week observance, and local celebrations are being arranged on a community basis. This year it is the earnest hope that churches and synagogues will, as in past years, give leadership and help to make this observance truly significant.

Five years ago the United Nations charter was ratified. Out of the travail of global war and man's resurgent hope for a new world, the international organization was born.

The United Nations is based upon faith—faith that there is an underlying moral unity which can serve to bind together the nations of the world in a common effort for peace and freedom.

The forces of world religion have a unique opportunity and responsibility to help lay a sturdy foundation for this faith of the United Nations. In fact, in a world still fouled by misunderstanding, self-centered nationalism, economic isolationism, and fear, the great truths of religion show the only way in which world community can be made actual.

Your church's observance is more than a mere celebration of what has been accomplished. It can be the means of overcoming apathy and indifference, and a stimulus to more active support of the United Nations.

Churches must take upon themselves leadership in this dynamic venture. They must fire the imagination, deepen the thinking, and make invincible the will of their people for world order through international organization. They must vigorously teach the truth that religious faith can put cynicism and fear to rout. Such faith, grounded in belief in God's overlordship in history, will quell the despair of our day.

How to Observe United Nations Week

Each organization in the congregation should be encouraged to arrange one or more United Nations meetings. The church school, the Women's Association, the young people, the Couples Club, the Men's Club—each through its own program can participate in the celebration. In addition, the entire church membership can be enlisted to join in a "family night" where a special dinner program can be arranged.

Some general suggestions follow for worship services, programs, and projects. Any of these can be readily adapted locally.

- *Worship*

Use themes for sermons and talks that emphasize the prophetic role of religion in giving leadership in the struggle for peace with justice. Seek answers to the question, How can our churches help to win the concerted support of people for the United Nations?

Read the preamble to the UN charter or to the UNESCO constitution as part of the services.

Hymns and poetry from different countries can often be used. Some groups have found it effective to have the Bible lesson read in French, Spanish, Russian, or German. Classic devotional literature, representative of other religions and peoples, is readily available.

- *Program*

The following program suggestions can be used with excellent results by any age group:

• **Model meetings of any of the United Nations organs or agencies** can be arranged. Smaller groups can, for example, plan a model meeting of the Security Council. Groups with at least fifty-nine members can draw more people into the program by setting up a model session of the General Assembly or one of the specialized agencies (UNESCO, FAO, WHO, etc.). One issue should be picked for discussion, and members of the group representing delegates from the various UN member countries should try their best to reflect the actual point of view of the particular country they represent.

• **Films and filmstrips can be used** in a number of ways to give variety to your program plans.

1. Film forum. To watch a film gives an audience a common background for discussion. A competent leader, after comment on the film, can stimulate spirited discussion.

2. A film to complement an address. For instance, the UN film *Of Human Rights* (16 mm., 2 reels, 20 minutes, $4 per day, available through regional dealers) might be shown before or after a talk on the subject of human rights.

3. A film might be shown after a luncheon or dinner meeting. The

program chairman should book a film at least four weeks before the date of the meeting. Usually a projector or screen can be borrowed from the nearest school or library. One of the best recent films on the UN is *Defense of the Peace* (16 mm., 1 reel, 10 minutes, $2.50 per day, available through regional dealers). Many excellent filmstrips are also available; for instance, *Visit to the UN* (35 frames, about 20 minutes, free of charge upon written application to Lake Success).

• **Plan round-table or panel discussions, debates, quiz programs, and simulated radio broadcasts.** Suggested subjects: "How Can the Religious Forces Help to Strengthen the United Nations?"; "Religion's Responsibility for World Peace."

• **Display posters, leaflets, pamphlets, charts,** and books about the United Nations on bulletin boards and literature tables. Free literature on the United Nations is available from UN Dept. of Public Information, Lake Success, N. Y.

• **Encourage individuals and groups to make financial contributions** to the following agencies, which are helping to fight disease, hunger, and ignorance throughout the world:

a. United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund, New York 16.

b. CARE (Co-operative for American Remittances to Europe, 50 Broad Street, New York 5) accepts orders for food packages at $10 each. Money may also be contributed for plows and for books.

• **Help to arrange a community observance of United Nations Week,** in which churches co-operate with other local organizations. Programs during the week might culminate in an all-community rally. The all-community observance should be planned by a committee widely representative of the various community organizations participating. This committee should have over-all charge of arrangements, and should assign a share in the program to each organization.

Consult These Resources

Division of Social Education and Action, 830 Witherspoon Building, Philadelphia 7, Pa.

The Church Peace Union, 170 East 64th Street, New York 21, N. Y.

World Alliance for International Friendship Through Religion, 170 E. 64th Street, New York 21, N. Y.

American Association for the United Nations, 45 East 65th Street, New York 21, N. Y. *Free lists of available material, film lists, packets of pamphlets, posters, flags.*

United Nations, Dept. of Public Information, Lake Success, N. Y. *Posters, leaflets, photos, and films.*

U. S. Department of State, Washington 25, D. C. *Material on United States participation in the United Nations. Also text of UN charter.*

CONFLICT IN KOREA

A statement by the Central Committee of the World Council of Churches, July 13, 1950, Toronto, Canada.

THE conflict in Korea reveals the precarious nature of peace and security in the world today. The World Council of Churches expresses its deep concern and calls upon its members as a world-wide Christian fellowship to pray for Korea, where guilty and innocent suffer or perish together, and to bear witness to Christ as Lord of All Life and as Prince of Peace.

An act of aggression has been committed. The United Nations Commission in Korea, the most objective witness available, asserts that "all evidence points to a calculated, co-ordinated attack prepared and launched with secrecy" by the North Korean troops.

Armed attack as an instrument of national policy is wrong. We therefore commend the United Nations, an instrument of world order, for its prompt decision to meet this aggression and for authorizing a police measure which every member nation should support. At the same time, Governments must press individually and through the United Nations for a just settlement by negotiation and conciliation.

The enforced division of a people in Korea or elsewhere is a bitter result of the divided world. It violates fundamental rights and increases the threat to peace. The United Nations has attempted to establish a free, united, and independent Korea within the community of nations. Every opportunity that may arise from the present tragic situation must be used to gain this end.

The Korean situation need not be the beginning of a general war. We must not regard world-wide conflict as inevitable. Any tendency to irresponsible fatalism should be resisted. We stand for a just peace under the rule of law and must seek peace by expanding justice and by reconciling contending powers.

Postwar totalitarianism relies not only on military pressures but also on a policy of exploiting the distress of the poor, the resentments of subject peoples, discriminations on grounds of race, religion, or national origin, the chaos of badly governed nations, and the general disunity between nations. The Korean attack may well be one of a possible series of thrusts at such weak points in world society. Since the world is still filled with such injustices and disorder, a mood of moral complacency is both wrong and politically dangerous. Overcoming these evils is therefore the most important means for rendering the world morally impregnable to totalitarianism.

Such methods of modern warfare as the use of atomic and bacteriological weapons and obliteration bombing involve force and destruction of life on so terrible a scale as to imperil the very basis on which law and civilization can exist. It is therefore imperative that they should be banned by international agreement and we welcome every sincere proposal to this end. However, the "Stockholm Appeal," which demands the outlawing of atomic weapons only, without effective international inspection and control, both immediate and continuous, must be regarded as a strategy of propaganda rather than a genuine peace proposal. We must seek peace by cultivating mutual confidence and work for an increasing devotion to common moral principles.

We see the judgments and warnings of God in the things that are now being wrought. As Christians it must be our purpose to redeem "the time, because the days are evil." Every temptation to ease and social indifference in so tragic an age, and every tendency toward hysteria amidst the perils about us, must be resisted. We must encourage each other to bear the burdens and face the tasks of our age in the faith of Him who abides faithful, leaving what lies beyond our power to him whose power rules and overrules the actions and passions of men and nations.

THE WORLD COUNCIL SPEAKS

We have to learn afresh together to speak boldly in Christ's name both to those in power and to the people, to oppose terror, cruelty, and race discrimination, to stand by the outcast, the prisoner, and the refugee. We have to make of the church in every place a voice for those who have no voice, and a home where every man will be at home. We have to learn afresh together what is the duty of the Christian man or woman in industry, in agriculture and politics, in the professions and in the home. We have to ask God to teach us together to say, "No" and to say, "Yes" in truth: "No," to all that flouts the love of Christ, to every system, every program, and every person that treats any man as though he were an irresponsible thing or a means of profit, to the defenders of injustice in the name of order, those who sow the seeds of war, and to those who advocate war as inevitable; "Yes," to all that conforms to the love of Christ, to all who seek for justice, to the peacemakers, to all who hope, fight, and suffer for the cause of man, to all who—even without knowing it—look for new heavens and a new earth wherein dwells righteousness.

OUT OF TRAVAIL—ONE WORLD

By **J. MERLE DAVIS**, ***Teaching Institute of Economics, University of California; formerly Director, Department of Social and Economic Research, International Missionary Council.***

For the first time in history humanity is experiencing the birth pangs of a world community. Two global wars have moved the concept of world brotherhood out from the exclusive possession of idealists to the centers of world statecraft and economic planning.

Many nations are banded together to guard the world's peace, and to respect human personality and liberty, and to promote justice and the welfare, freedom of action, thought, and religious faith of the peoples.

The foundations of the infant world community have been laid by four major factors—political, economic, technological, and religious. All four stem from the astonishing release of energy and drive to expansion that followed the European Renaissance.

Political rivalry in the discovery and acquisition of the vast areas of the new world and the exploitation of their material and human resources have seen their modern counterpart in the colonial system.

The second factor that has drawn the peoples of the earth together, an outgrowth of the first, is the economic. The early brutal exploitation of the backward peoples and their resources has been followed by more humane methods and by organized trade, the interchange of goods, raw materials, and cultural amenities, ideas, and ideologies. While it is true that the West has acquired the lion's share of material advantage from this economic contact, there also has been a widespread awakening of the retarded peoples that has been preparing them for participation in a world community. A further result of this economic contact has been the growing awareness of the interdependence of the peoples—that they need each other; that they will stand or fall together.

Science and technology, with education as their handmaiden, have been the third influence leading toward a world community. The backward races are being gradually educated in the knowledge and sources of power and progress that have given the West world leadership. They are also being trained in the techniques that implement these sources of power.

The fourth major influence in the development of the backward peoples is the missionary enterprise of the Christian Church. The lives and culture of all the retarded peoples are inextricably interwoven with religious beliefs, customs, and superstitions and with obligations to the ancestral spirit world and with fears of offending their animistic deities. Here lie the central drives, responsibilities, and interests that hold the communal communities together. Here also is the root of the most baffling obstacles to the creation of a true world community based on mutual respect, common ideology, values, and motivations.

Christian missions have been lifting the horizons of the retarded races to a world community, to the claims of a world divinity—a Father God—who has given them a way of escape from their fear-ridden lives through his Son, the Christ. Here is a new moral dynamic that enables men to fulfill their divine destiny and teaches the infinite worth of personality and the concept of world brotherhood. Until recent years, nearly the entire educational program of the colonial governments of Africa has been in the hands of missionaries. The first modern colleges of China, India, Japan, the Philippines, Siam, Burma, Persia, Turkey, and many other countries were started by missions. Missions still carry a large part of the higher education of these nations, and their institutions have been the models upon which national education has been shaped. All have played a vital part in the modernization of their respective nations.

Through their girls' schools and colleges, Christian missions have awakened the womanhood of more than seventy retarded countries and lifted the position of woman toward the level of Western nations.

From the days of William Carey in India and David Livingstone in Africa, missionaries have been *the carriers of modern science and technology* to the retarded peoples. In ten thousand remote places in the world the missionary is a demonstrator of modern ways of life and higher standards of living. In housing, sanitation, and diet, in family and home life, care of children, and the position of woman, in preventive medicine and midwifery, transportation, literacy, agriculture, home industries, and a score of other activities, the missionary is an effective demonstrator of modern civilization. The cumulative influence of this wide diffusion of culture is incalculable in its preparation for living in a world community.

Obstacles to World Community

The difficulties of creating, under the pressure of world crisis, a world community should be considered against the background of factors that condition community life. A national or local community is, with few exceptions, of which the United States of America is the most striking, the outgrowth of a complex of common factors, such as race, religion, standards of living, traditions, folkways, and sanctions. Commonly accepted values, motivations, and standards of morality also play their part. In short, the community is based upon a common culture. It has taken at least centuries to produce these national and local communities. While it is true that interracial contacts and diffusion of cultures have been greatly speeded up in recent decades, the *time factor* stands as a formidable obstacle to the speedy formation of a true world community.

The *disillusionment* of the retarded peoples with the accepted superiority of the white man's civilization has been highly augmented by the two recent world wars. The bewilderment of the hundreds of thousands of colored men who, as soldiers or laborers, helped the white Christian nations destroy one another has spread to the remotest of their home villages. The former prestige of the white man among the backward peoples is forever gone.

The gulf of *disparities* that lies between the advanced and retarded peoples is both deep and wide. How can a true world community appear until this gulf has been bridged, or at least narrowed?

Basic disparities in economic power, technology, education, ideology, morals, and standards of living each present an obstacle to mutual respect, appreciation, and understanding and to the possibility of working together on terms of equality toward common goals in a world community.

Racial prejudice and the color bar to advancement, opportunity, and social acceptance is considered by many world leaders as the most deep-seated and stubborn barrier to the formation of a community of the nations.

The fact that racial prejudice is most active in some of the foremost Christian nations and in many of their churches is known throughout the colored world and tends to destroy their faith in the integrity and worth of Western civilization.

The superiority complex of the white race, child of racial prejudice and cultural and economic disparities, is but slowly yielding before the growing understanding of the retarded peoples by the advanced nations, and the political and economic exigencies that are drawing the nations together. There is a rising questioning in the West of the superiority of a culture that relies so heavily upon economics and the profit motive, upon speed and incessant activity as criteria of the good life.

With this questioning is dawning a conviction that if our Western materialistic civilization is to endure and provide a balanced human development it must integrate some of of the basic values of the so-called "retarded" races with its own.

Colonialism and Material and Human Exploitation

Colonialism and world community are a contradiction in terms. By no stretch of the imagination can a people who are subject to a foreign power without the right of self-rule enjoy the respect and equality that are foundations of a community of nations.

Africa is the last stronghold of colonialism. Ten years ago there were 750,000,000 people in the world who were governed by alien powers. The recent world war and its aftermath has swept 550,000,000 of these dependent peoples into self-government. Today there are barely 200,000,000 remaining under colonial control and, of these, four fifths are Africans.

At this point the United Nations is upon the horns of an apparently insoluble dilemma, for the great majority of the peoples of Africa south of the Sahara are the most retarded of all the continents.

It is contended that to give these tribal masses immediate self-rule would plunge half the continent into a chaos of misrule and conflict that would indefinitely postpone progress and would threaten the peace of the world. On the other hand, the tiny minority of highly educated Africans are spreading bitterness and discontent among their people because of the alleged ill faith of their Western rulers in withholding immediate self-rule from them. Furthermore, with few exceptions, there is a lack of moral strength and character among the educated African leaders which unfits them for carrying great national responsibilities. Sir Alan Burns, ex-governor of the Gold Coast, the most advanced of all African colonies, states, "The problem of finding a sufficient number of Negroes of high character and courage (there are plenty with the ability and education required) is one of the most baffling of those facing colonial governments today." This statement is endorsed by very many experienced officials in the African colonies.

A further bar to the self-rule of a majority of the African peoples is their abysmal poverty. The cost of administering the public services of a modern government in education, health, forestry, land conservation, modern agriculture, and social betterment is, and will remain for decades to come, hopelessly beyond the economic power of the people.

A final obstacle to the participation in a world community of the peoples of Africa and of various other backward areas is the loss of their tribal cohesion and security, the shattering of their self-respect and confidence in themselves, the tribe, their culture, and their destiny. They find themselves, at best, third-class citizens, poor replicas of the white man, and dwellers in a no man's land between the tribal life that is slipping away from them and the new system of life, laws, and values which they do not understand and for which they fail to qualify. They do not come into contact with the finer values and controls of the new order, for in the urban slums and great industrial enterprises, to which their shrinking land reserves and growing population exile them, they become acquainted with the more sordid and materialistic aspects of Western life. Even higher education opens their eyes to the injustices of the loss of their lands, the color bar to advancement, the withholding of self-rule, and the exploitation of the black man's labor and physical resources which enriches the alien Governments that dominate them.

This dark picture is relieved by the contrasted prosperity and advancement of the peoples of British West Africa and the favorable position of the Congolese under Belgian rule. However, it must be realistically faced by the leaders of the United Nations and by the Christian Churches of the West in their efforts to create a valid world community. The picture must be faced because it presents the lowest common denominator with which the advanced and backward peoples have been meeting and which, if continued to be used, will wreck the possibility of forming a true world community.

The Missionary Enterprise and World Community

What then is the role of the Christian Church in the onrush of civilization which is sweeping over underdeveloped lands and in the building of a world community?

The pillars of the new society that the United Nations seeks to build among the unprivileged people are the provision of education, technology, better health, more food, larger incomes, and social welfare all to be set up and supported by great gifts of money. The one central factor in this ambitious program is *man* himself—*the key* to the solution of the whole problem.

But none of these advances, nor all combined, can fill the spiritual vacuum or provide the dynamic drive to action and progress which man has lost in his transition from the old to the new order. These spiritual values and forces are beyond the competence and responsibility of the United Nations and the power of statecraft, economics, and social welfare upon which it relies.

Here lies the unique and inescapable responsibility of the Christian Church and its missionary service to the backward peoples of the world. For the Christian Church through a thousand years of missionary outreach has centered its activities upon the spiritual enlightenment and energizing of man, the key to the problem of building a world community.

NOT THE A-BOMB ALONE, BUT ALL ARMAMENTS

By **TELFORD TAYLOR**, *lawyer and brigadier general in the Army reserves and formerly chief prosecutor at the Nuremberg war crimes trials. Reprinted from* The New York Times Magazine *with permission.*

This is an answer to the Stockholm Appeal: the outlawing of all weapons and war itself.

As the Korean engagement develops into a full-blown, if localized, war, our initial setbacks and the dark prospect of months of bloody fighting have aroused demands that we use the atomic bomb against the North Koreans. The military folly and psychological bankruptcy of such a course of action have been convincingly stated by numerous commentators, both official and private. Yet no one can foresee the shape of things in the immediate future; the tragic prospect of global war is far more imminent than it was but a few short weeks ago, and world-wide fear that atomic and other bombs may soon once again be leveling cities is deepening.

Even before Seoul and Taejon became household words, this fear had been greatly intensified by the Russian atomic explosion and the seemingly hopeless impasse to which the United Nations atomic energy discussions have led. The recent wave of sentiment for the "neutralization" of western Europe is in a large part a reaction to this growing anxiety.

The failure of the Lilienthal-Acheson-Baruch program for far-reaching international control of atomic energy to achieve anything more than a stalemate has, not unnaturally, led to the advocacy of simpler measures. Typical of these is the proposal by the International Committee of the Red Cross for a treaty to outlaw the use of atomic weapons. More recently, the so-called "Stockholm Peace Appeal," pursuant to which such a ban is coupled with a declaration that the "first use" of atomic weapons would be a "crime against humanity," has received widespread publicity.

The Stockholm Appeal is backed by the Communists and has been roundly condemned by Secretary Acheson and numerous other anti-Communist officials and groups. Unfortunately, official criticism has so far been based chiefly on the fact of Communist support; reasoned analysis of the proposal's shortcomings has been notably lacking. Unless liberal democrats espouse a more positive critique, there is grave danger that the Communists will force us into the seeming posture of approving mass annihilation.

While attention has been focused on the A-bomb and H-bomb because of their fearful destructive potentialities, their use against cities and civilian populations presents no new question of principle. The ruined cities of Germany and Japan and many square miles of urban destruction in other countries testify to the efficacy of "conventional" high explosive and incendiary bombs.

The Hague Conventions, promulgated before the First World War and generally recognized at that time as embodying the laws of war, prohibited the bombardment of "undefended" towns and the "unnecessary" destruction of cultural buildings and monuments. Before the Second World War there was a widespread belief that aerial bombardment of cities as such was contrary to international law, and therefore criminal. Since then the terrible events of 1940 to 1945 have dulled our susceptibilities, and today many people regard the bombing of cities as an inevitable concomitant of modern war. But opinions condemning such bombing as immoral and unlawful are by no means lacking and have recently been increasingly vocal.

The moral and political issues currently projected by the prospect of atomic warfare were interestingly foreshadowed during the course of the Nuremberg war crimes trials. In preparing the indictment against Hermann Göring and the other defendants in the first Nuremberg trial, the Soviet attorneys suggested (in the preliminary discussions at London) that Göring, as commander in chief of the German air force, should be accused of killing civilians and destroying property by wanton aerial bombardment of cities, such as Warsaw, Belgrade, and Rotterdam.

As the American representative in London, I argued that such a charge against Göring would hardly prove convincing in the light of the accomplishments of the Allied air forces in Germany and Japan. But the Soviet representatives urged, with the utmost seriousness, that there was no similarity whatsoever between the German raids and the Allied attacks. The German attacks had been the work of Nazi war criminals, who had rained death on innocent workers and their wives and children. The Allied attacks, on the other hand, had been carried out by the avenging forces of democracy, in order to seek out the Fascist beasts in their lairs and stamp out imperialism and Nazism. Why was it, they asked, that Colonel Taylor failed to grasp this distinction?

Fortunately, the distinction was equally unconvincing to my French and English colleagues, and neither Göring nor any other defendant at Nuremberg was charged with any criminal liability in connection with air attacks. Yet it was not very long before the same question again presented itself at Nuremberg, this time in an entirely different guise.

One of the later Nuremberg trials was concerned with the activities of certain special units of SS guards called the *Einsatzgruppen*, who accompanied the Germany Army during its invasion of the Soviet Union to exterminate all Jews, gypsies, and so-called "political activists." These few SS men—not many over 1,000 in number—in actual fact exterminated 1,000,000 inhabitants of western and southern Russia, most of them Jews.

The leader of one of these groups, SS Gen. Otto Ohlendorff, was the principal defendant in this trial. He was an unusually outspoken fanatic, and he readily admitted and indeed saw nothing reprehensible about the gigantic slaughter that he had carried out. When asked why it had been necessary to kill infants and young children he replied that they were the children of Jews, who would surely grow up hating the Germans and would therefore be a threat to the Nazi regime in future years.

Having thus justified his own behavior, Ohlendorff took the offensive and declared that in any event what he had done was no more culpable than what the Allies had done in their bombing of cities in Germany and Japan. And, in fact, the contention that the Nazi exterminations were no more criminal than the Allied bombing attacks soon found enthusiastic support in Germany.

It was only after such views as these gained a following in Germany that I realized the full significance of a remark made to me during the first Nuremberg trial by a Russian attorney who indiscreetly warned, "Soon you will see, Colonel Taylor, how we will make the whole German people your enemies because of the destruction you have caused here."

My Russian friend's prediction has indeed started to come true, and with a vengeance.

Criticism of both the wisdom and morality of Allied bombing tactics has not, however, been confined to the Germans and the Communists.

As early as 1946 the British admiral Sir Gerald Dickens (in his book *Bombing and Strategy*), condemned the bombing of cities and the consequent indiscriminate slaughter of women and children as hardly a fit occupation for an English gentleman. Last fall Admiral Dickens' argument was enlarged upon by a number of American admirals in the course of hearings before the House Armed Services Committee. Admiral Ofstie went so far as to characterize such bombing as "ruthless and barbaric" and to charge that it "undermines the standards of morality that have been a guiding force in this democracy since its inception."

But it is these same admirals who want to build an enormous aircraft carrier, capable of launching airplanes bearing atomic bombs.

Under this naval theory, atomic bombs may be legitimately employed if they are dropped from planes launched by aircraft carriers, or carried in missiles launched from battleships; atomic bombing utilizing land-based airplanes is, however, despicable and immoral. The logic of this distinction may be obscure, but unfortunately the Navy's challenge was not squarely met. For example, General Bradley observed that "it is obvious that workers live near factories and that if you bomb factories you may bomb people."

All this leads inevitably to the conclusion that there is no sufficient reason to put atomic weapons in a separate category from so-called "conventional" weapons. The most terrible devastation and slaughter can be achieved by the bombardment of cities with ordinary explosives. The enormous fire storms caused by the British raids on Hamburg were quite as frightful as the explosions at Hiroshima and Nagasaki. The first incendiary raid on Tokyo, which produced some 185,000 casualties, was by far the most terrible single attack of the war.

In a small way, the German Zeppelin raids on London in 1915 and the long-range shelling of Paris in 1918 were precursors of area bombing. However, it was the *Luftwaffe* night attacks on London that initiated true large-scale area bombing. A year later Great Britain's Royal Air Force took the same road. And in 1945, hoping that area bombing might quickly crush the morale and undermine the economy of Japan, the United States followed suit.

It is clear, therefore, that the prohibitions in the Hague Conventions against the bombardment of cities have been set aside by the common practice of all the major powers. Despite the statements of the admirals and of various extremist writers area bombing is not now prohibited by the prevailing laws of war. Until those laws are changed by treaty or common observance there will be no basis for charging that area bombing is "criminal" under the law of nations.

This conclusion is, in all conscience, a comfortless one. But discomfort is often the best stimulus to action and to self-help. In a very deep sense the great cities of the world are the repositories of humanitarianism and the vehicles of that moral and cultural continuity which is the *sine qua non* of civilization. We must fully realize that modern warfare presently contemplates the utter destruction of these cities, no matter how ancient, beautiful, and beloved, to say nothing of the incineration of their inhabitants.

Under such circumstances there

is great appeal in the "simple approach" typified by the Red Cross and Stockholm proposals to outlaw the atomic bomb. What is the objection to taking this for an immediate objective?

The dangers are that such a first step might well turn out to be the last and that the consummation of such a treaty would cultivate a feeling of security that would all too probably prove false. If huge fleets of long-range bombers are built and if cities are regarded as legitimate targets of bombardment, a ban on atomic explosives will be futile. The most terrible destruction will be caused with explosives of all kinds.

For this and other reasons, it is apparent that the bare "outlawing" of the atomic bomb does not promise sufficient security to warrant its selection as a major goal.

What, then, should our goal be? At present America and its allies are committed to the United Nations "majority plan" for international ownership of atomic energy plants and control of production. Despite the prodigious complications of this plan and its complete unacceptability to the Eastern powers, there is little evidence of any official disposition in Washington to seek a fresh approach. But the majority plan, no clusively on atomic disarmament. less than the Red Cross and Stockholm proposals, is concentrated exclusively on atomic disarmament.

To maintain our leadership in the promotion of world peace, it would be wise for us now to lessen emphasis on atomic weapons and to press vigorously for general disarmament, to be enforced through rigorous inspection by an international disarmament agency.

Russian obstinacy and obstructionism in no way relieves the United States of the duty to put forward the most practical and effective plan that it can formulate to check the arms race. Only thus can we move toward the goal of universal disarmament, distant as it seems.

While a settlement with the Russians is what we hope to achieve, it is not the only aim to be pursued. Equally important is the preservation of our reputation for the energetic and imaginative promotion of world peace. We have become accustomed to thinking of atomic energy as an issue between the United States and the Soviet Union, but before long it will be common property of all industrialized nations.

As the economic health and military strength of all these nations revive, we must at all costs avoid giving them the impression, or opening ourselves to the charge, that we have lost interest in disarmament and are concentrating exclusively on preparation for war. We can ill afford to lose our position of leadership in the pursuit of peace, for in the same measure that we lose that leadership we will lose support of our allies in meeting the threat of war.

An App

"AGGRESSORS FOR PEACE"

THE one who publicly advocated that the United States must become "an initiator of a war of agression" is still (Sept. 20) Secretary of the Navy. Too many days have passed since August 25 when Mr. Francis P. Matthews proposed that we "become the first Aggressors for Peace." His opinion was promptly disavowed by the State Department, which was alarmed and shocked by the way the secretary provided power for the Russian propaganda mills. The secretary should have been removed from office at once. By immediately resigning he could have reduced, though slightly, the immense harm caused by his address. But the delay of his dismissal has compounded the evil of the flagrant act which requires it. The weeks have given Russia plenty of time to quote the Secretary of the Navy in support of their charge that United States policy is made by warmongers. How many millions must be spent on "The Voice of America" to counteract the influence of the voice of one Government official? Surely the President's volume of mail on this issue will make clear and insistent the will of the people.

It seems a strong case can be made for the aggressive or "sanitary" or "preventive" war. The military arguments for it convinced Hitler, Mussolini, Tojo, and their associates. Their disaster ought to prevent all but the most heedless from following their course. For the Christian the aggressive war represents a total betrayal of the faith. But apparently earnest men are so tragically misled that they can advocate a thing so evil. Secretary Matthews is not the only one in Washington or the United States who entertains this idea or some gradation of it. Assistant Secretary of Defense, Paul H. Griffith, said that in 1947 he suggested "to the President that perhaps the dropping of an atomic bomb at that time some place over there might let the people know we were really in earnest and intended to protect the freedom and the liberty of the people of the world who wanted to remain free." A general in the Air Corps, Major General Orvil Anderson, was suspended from command of the Air War College for saying: "Americans believe in taking the initiative. Give me the order to do it and I can break up Russia's five A-bomb nests in a week." We do not know how many have been driven by fear to consider aggression for peace.

to Faith

It is alarming to know that some who are of this mind were and may still be in sensitive posts of political and military power.

Now that the position of the aggressors for peace has been brought into the open, those who sympathize with it, as well as the great body of Americans who oppose it, will know with whom to take their stand. Mr. Philip Jessup, of the Department of State, has been the clearest spokesman in the Department's repudiation of Secretary Matthews' proposal.

In addition to these arguments and those that will occur to every Christian, a serious question is raised by the most cursory review of some of the documents of the Trial of War Criminals conducted at Nuremberg. Just what aggression for peace can one advocate without committing "crimes against peace" for which we tried and punished the Nazis? For what crime is Rudolph Hess now in Spandau jail? Surely these aggressors for peace know not what they do or advise us to do.

"CRIMES AGAINST PEACE"

It is high time that we act on the juridical principle that aggressive warmaking is illegal and criminal." This conclusion of Robert H. Jackson in his report to the President on the Trial of War Criminals has substantial support in the other documents of the "trial and punishment of the major war criminals of the European Axis countries." The "Agreement for Establishment of an International Military Tribunal" states: "The following acts, or *any* of them, are crimes coming within the jurisdiction of the Tribunal for which there shall be individual responsibility: (*a*) Crimes against peace: Namely, planning, preparation, initiation *or* waging of war of aggression, or a war in violation of international treaties, agreements or assurances, or participation in a common plan or conspiracy for the accomplishment of any of the foregoing."

U. M. T.

Universal Military Training will have the early attention of Congress in January, 1951. This matter requires renewed examination by the American people in the light of the crisis in foreign affairs. We plan to consider again this question in the December issue of Social Progress.

—Paul Newton Poling.

WHAT ABOUT THAT D. P. FAMILY OF OURS?

By **JAMES L. HOOPER**, *Executive Secretary, Joint Committee on Resettlement of Displaced Persons, the Presbyterian Church in the U. S. A.*

MANY Presbyterians have been asking, "Why have we not received the Displaced Person for whom we gave assurance a year or more ago?" The facts are these: The Protestant and Orthodox denominations were slow in getting the work started. The 1948 D.P. law had many quota limitations, which made it difficult to secure assurances. The new law liberalizes the quotas and removes many obstacles, so that now there is hope for far better results in the whole program.

The 1950 Displaced Persons Act provides that "the selection of eligible displaced persons shall be made without discrimination in favor of or against a race, religion, or national origin, and that equitable opportunity shall be afforded to eligible displaced persons of all races, religions, and national origins."

The persons eligible for selection for resettlement are those displaced from the country of their birth who cannot return because of persecution or fear of persecution because of race, religion, or political opinions.

The selections are based on assurances given by a citizen or citizens of the United States that such a person will be suitably employed and shall not become a public charge. Such assurances have been given largely through voluntary agencies, and, more especially, through the special agencies of the Jewish, Catholic, Orthodox, and Protestant Churches.

How Presbyterian D.P. Units Are Nominated for Sponsorship

The several Church agencies have representatives in Europe who have access to the D.P. camps for direct contact with the Displaced Persons. Those representatives work through Church World Service to determine policies for getting a maximum number of people out. The Methodists and Presbyterians are asked to sponsor some Orthodox families found in the camps in great numbers. (The Serbian Orthodox Committee, alone, is seeking to find jobs for 12,000 Orthodox persons.)

A Presbyterian representative (1) interviews the units (single person or family) seeking Presbyterian sponsorship, (2) nominates those to be sponsored, (3) writes up a case history of each unit, noting occupational training and experience, religion, nationality, as well as preference for job. The nomination is given preferably to persons of the Reformed faith, but other Protestants, including Russian and Greek Orthodox, may be nominated if other qualifications are marked. These nominations are made as nearly as possible to match the job assurances given by the Presbyterian churches across America. D.P.'s with professional skills are eager to contribute to the life of their new country.

Getting Through the "Pipeline"

When a Presbyterian representative has reached an agreement with a Displaced Person as to Presbyterian sponsorship, the name of the person or family, together with the narrative report, is submitted to the Church World Service office for endorsement and for filing with the Displaced Persons Commission for documentation. CWS affixes a European code number and Presbyterian code number at this time. These actions place the unit (person or family) at the entrance of the so-called "pipeline," in line for the several tests to be given by the agents of the Displaced Persons Committee, looking toward resettlement in America or final rejection along the way. These tests take some six months, and are known as "processing" or "passing through the pipeline."

The following steps are necessary:

I. Documentation of Case by IRO

In each "case" as a first step the local International Relief Organization in charge of the camp where the D.P. lives secures the necessary documents. These include (1) all official papers—birth certificate, marriage certificate, police registration, (2) a lengthy questionnaire, (3) fingerprinting, (4) a preliminary health examination.

Many cases are "suspended" at this point, until documents can be secured or the medical situation is cleared up. Here, those ineligible for resettlement are screened out.

When documentation is completed, the IRO returns the case to the Displaced Persons Commission office for its checkup.

II. Checkup by D.P. Commission

This step involves some three months of time, and includes:

- A check on all the documents submitted through IRO to make sure they are in line with the U. S. Displaced Persons Act.
- A security check by the U. S. Counter-Intelligence Corps as to whether the person may have been a member of a subversive or undesirable group, or has borne arms voluntarily against the Allies in World War II.

- A review of the case by a D.P.C. "analyst" who may (*a*) send the case back to IRO for an eligibility review, (*b*) send the case to CIC for a security recheck, (*c*) send the case to the Review Panel of D.P.C. located at Frankfurt for final decision, (*d*) send the case (if in order), together with all papers, to the D. P.C. with his own stamp of approval.

III. Affirmation of Acceptance of Terms of Employment

Each person making application for visa first executes an oath of affirmation that he accepts and will abide by the terms of employment indicated for such applicant in the assurance upon which his application for resettlement is based.

IV. Commission Report on Eligible Applicants

The D.P.C. makes a written report regarding the character, history, and eligibility of each Displaced Person to the appropriate consular officers, submitting all documents and reports of its investigators relating to such eligibility for use by the consul in connection with the application for immigration visa. The Commission notifies the Displaced Person concerned that he may apply to a consular officer for a visa. He is advised to close up any business and to collect baggage to be ready for the journey. He is usually given at least seven days for this preparation.

V. Securing Consular Visa

- At a time determined by the consular office, the consul asks IRO to have the case called forward. The D.P. unit (person or family) is moved from the D.P. camp to a Resettlement Center.
- Medical examinations are given by the Public Health Service of the Federal Security Agency.
- The consul reviews all papers and makes these available to the officers of the Immigration and Naturalization Service of the U.S., who check the whole case, particularly to eliminate danger of D.P. becoming a public charge after arrival in America.
- The consul calls in the D.P., receives the required affidavits, and gives the visa. (Time required—one month.)

Preferences in Granting Visas

In granting visas, the consular officers may give preference only to persons who meet the eligibility requirements for admission under the act. The law states that preference must be given to (1) persons (including families and dependents) who are farm, household, construction, clothing and garment workers, and other workers needed in the locality where the persons are to reside; (2) persons possessing educational, scientific, technological, or professional qualifications; (3)

persons who are blood relations of citizens of the U.S. or aliens admitted for permanent residence, this up to the third degree of consanguinity; (4) within these preferences, first preference shall be given to persons who during World War II bore arms against the enemies of the United States.

Transportation and Reception

The D.P.C. is responsible for the transportation of all Displaced Persons to the port of embarkation, and thereafter to the United States, and for clearance of these persons on arrival at port of debarkation. The Commission attempts to notify interested individuals or agencies of the granting of visas and the expected dates of embarkation and of arrival in the United States, in order that the sponsors may make appropriate arrangements for reception and transportation in the United States. This is done two or three weeks before actual arrival in the United States, which gives sponsors little time for preparation. Our Presbyterian Committee is trying to get earlier notification to Presbyterian sponsors. Sponsors are responsible for transportation from port of entry to place of resettlement.

Resettlement

While the actual resettlement is placed in the hands of the sponsor offering the job and housing, the Displaced Persons Commission has a direct responsibility toward the individual D.P.'s, and the D.P.'s have a responsibility toward the Commission. The Commission must see to it that these persons are distributed in all geographical areas across the country and not concentrated in the East. The Commission will keep a close relationship with the voluntary social and welfare agencies which will aid orderly resettlement. The Commission will assist also in planning orientation courses, lectures, films, to help D.P.'s understand the history, customs, traditions, and geography of the United States, as well as the obligations they assume under the act, and to become better adjusted to their new life.

Each Displaced Person (except dependents) must make a report to the D.P. Commission on forms furnished by the Commission on the first day of January and the first day of July of each year until four reports have been made. Each person must also notify the Commission as well as the immigration authorities of change of address within five days of such change.

The Enlarged Program

The 1948 D. P. law provided for 215,000 units, or approximately 537,000 persons, to be given visas for resettlement by June 30, 1950. The goal was not reached; the law was revised in 1950.

The Displaced Persons Act of 1950 provides basically for 341,000 units, or approximately 852,500 persons.

Church World Service estimates that there are 80,000 Protestant and Orthodox persons in this total. This will require CWS getting 10,000 additional assurances to cover some 25,000 persons. The Presbyterian Church, through its Committee on Resettlement of Displaced Persons, has pledged 1,000 of these additional assurances, making a total of 3,000 Presbyterian assurances.

Revising the Time Schedule

The 1948 law provided for the termination of the program on June 30, 1950. The objective of the law was not obtained.

The 1950 law specifically calls upon the State Department, in conference with other nations, to seek to end the D.P. emergency, and close the camps. Visas will be issued up to June 30, 1951, with provision for arrivals in America up to November 30, 1951, when the movement should be completed.

All of these "processing" procedures will be followed for our 3,000 Presbyterian units—involving at least six months. We shall be likely to receive Displaced Persons for at least sixteen months, to November 30, 1951.

Our resettlement program should be made flexible. And perhaps we shall need to stress the needs of these people rather than our own need for their labor in a specific job. Specific jobs cannot wait, as we well know. But it is likely there are other jobs which the sponsoring churches will help to make available. The new law is more flexible in this regard.

A Word of Appreciation

Our committee wishes to express appreciation for the way in which the churches have continued their interest and good will in spite of the inconveniences caused by the blocks and delays. Many have waited for more than a year and have not withdrawn their assurances. The success of the program depends on this continued interest. By participation in this program you will have shared in one of the greatest humanitarian projects ever undertaken by our churches. You will have aided in giving new life and hope to these thousands of people. And they will, in turn, be residents of American communities across the land, adding to the richness of American life.

D. P.'s still need help and our Presbyterian churches need the inspiration and stimulation that comes from working on a project so essential to the peace and well-being of the world!

Reprints of Dr. Hooper's article can be secured from the Presbyterian Joint Committee on Resettlement of Displaced Persons, 156 Fifth Avenue, New York 10, New York.

2,000,000 HAVE VISITED THE UN— WHY DON'T YOU?

WHEN Russia's Yakov Malik returned to the United Nations Security Council the first day of August and took his seat as president, the eyes of the world were upon him and the dramatic deliberations of the Council.

Millions of Americans sat tense and attentive at their television sets. People who had never even heard of the United Nations were holtly indignant over Malik's filibuster tactics and obstructionism. Warren Austin became a new kind of TV hero acclaimed across the land for his statesmanship and courage.

Most people who saw the televised proceedings wished they could visit the United Nations in person, and thousands traveled by train, subway, and automobile to stampede the UN Public Information Department and admissions office for tickets.

Security Council meetings during that momentous month of August fell far short of international concord, but they did succeed in bringing the United Nations into the ken and consciousness of the average American citizen.

Since 1946 when the United Nations headquarters were set up temporarily on Long Island at Lake Success and Flushing Meadows, well over two million visitors have gone there to see for themselves how world organization works. Thousands are admitted every week without charge or political "pull."

The sessions of the UN General Assembly and of the various councils, commissions, and committees are open to the peoples of the world, and there is no charge for admission. Even a routine committee meeting is exciting to observe, with its battery of reporters from the press services of the world, its five teams of linguists who make simultaneous translations of what each delegate says. A flick of the finger on the small short-wave radio dial at each visitor's chair enables him to listen in English, French, Russian, Chinese, or Spanish.

There is drama and absorbing interest too, just to walk through the long corridors and to stand in the cafeteria lines with Indian women in saris and Arabs in swishing robes, brushing shoulders with delegates and the multinational UN staff. All guide signs appear in French and English. The bookstore features a fascinating array of books and pamphlets in many languages. The gigantic Department of Public Information prepares and publishes news releases, posters, radio scripts, pamphlets, magazines, and study materials in languages intelligible to all the fifty-nine member nations.

Despite all sorts of procedural difficulties and every known barrier of race and economic status, and imponderable differences in ideologies and culture, progress is being made. The United Nations has handled successfully every basic issue of controversy except the control of atomic energy, and agreement may come on that if the great powers are patient. The workers themselves are truly citizens of the world, and take an oath not to be influenced by any one Government. They must forget national ties and work for the general well-being of all nations. The hordes of visitors are also dramatic proof of the common man's deep yearnings for peace.

A trip to the United Nations is easy to arrange, and every churchman within traveling range of New York City ought to plan a visit. All who see this great workshop where the peace of the world is being built are impressed with UN's accomplishments.

If you are going alone or with one or two others, consult *The New York Times* or *Herald Tribune* for the daily announcement of the UN program for the following day, and call the United Nations telephone number appearing in the newspaper notice for your reservations. These may be made only one day in advance. If, however, you are planning to take a group of visitors, make group reservations for tickets at least two weeks ahead.

Address your request for reservations and tickets of admission to Mrs. Helen Teng, UN Department of Public Information, Lake Success, New York. Be sure to state the number of people in your group, the date of your proposed visit, and your first and second choices of the sessions you wish to observe.

If you are taking a group, Mrs. Teng's office will arrange for a brief orientation conference to acquaint your group with the workings of the United Nations and the functions of the various commissions and specialized agencies.

You can reach Lake Success or Flushing Meadows by car or by chartered bus over the Tri-Borough Bridge at the East Side of Manhattan at 125th Street or from the East River Drive. After passing over the toll bridge (25 cents) follow the sign to Long Island Queens to Grand Central Parkway. Follow the Parkway to Flushing Meadows where the General Assembly meets and follow the same Parkway several miles beyond to Lake Success. Parking lots are accessible at each place.

Long Island trains from Pennsylvania Station will take you to the UN station at Flushing Meadows and Lake Success, where connecting buses carry passengers directly to the United Nations buildings.

At Lake Success your tickets of admission will be held for you at the

Admissions Desk in the big main corridor opposite Mrs. Teng's office. If you are going first to the General Assembly, secure your tickets first at the admissions desk at Flushing Meadows. If you wish to visit both places, be sure to arrange this with Mrs. Teng.

Many crucial questions will be discussed this fall when the General Assembly convenes on September 19 at Flushing Meadows. Here all fifty-nine member nations will be assembled, each represented by a delegation of five and each having one vote in assembly proceedings; so if you choose to go to the United Nations in October or November, you will have a chance to observe how the statecraft and leadership of the small nations are contributing to UN's decisions and easing the tension between the great powers.

For most UN visitors a trip to Lake Success is only the beginning of a deep and growing interest in world affairs. Your experience will not be complete unless you follow your visit with a course of concerted action which is your personal witness for Christ's principles of brotherhood.

When you get home, talk about your trip. Tell your neighbors and fellow churchmen about what you observed. Persuade the editors of your local newspapers to give more adequate coverage of United Nations news. Get your local radio station manager to sponsor spot news and educational programs about UN activities. Display and study United Nations pamphlet materials in your church and church school. Get on the mailing list of the United Nations Public Information Service for free posters, news releases, photographs, radio scripts. Subscribe to the *United Nations Bulletin*, an attractive monthly magazine, at $4.50 per year. Join the "People's Section of the United Nations" and organize a discussion group in your church or community. For full details, write the American Association for the United Nations, 45 East 65th Street, New York. Subscription is only $1.00 a year.

Most important of all, evaluate your own community. Are full human rights and benefits accorded to all citizens? How does your town live up to the precepts of democracy and world order as set forth in United Nations declarations? Are the people in your town working together toward effective Christian solutions of the problems they face and what can your town do to contribute to the peace of the world?

If the United Nations is to become a truly effective instrument for peace with justice, it is terribly important that Christian citizens across the land are able to outthink and outvote the skeptics who discredit any form of world organization and the cynics who believe that war is inevitable.

—*Margaret E. Kuhn.*

BROTHERHOOD GOES TO THE FAIR

By **RUSSELL B. BARBOUR**, ***minister, First Baptist Church, Morristown, New Jersey.***

THREE lads stopped in front of a booth at the county fair and a quizzical expression came over their faces as they read the sign overhead: "The World in Your Back Yard." "Let's go in," one of them said, "It's for free." They did and were welcomed by a Negro woman who led them around the walls of the booth where a display of the flags of all nations greeted them.

They were told at the outset to pick up a bean and place it in the bowl near the flag that stood for the country of their forefathers. Quickly catching the spirit of a new adventure, they made their way along the row of flags. One boy put his bean in the Russian bowl, another in England's, and the third took two beans along, for his grandparents had come from two countries, from Germany and Lithuania. Then they came upon the doll figures of a Protestant minister, a Jewish rabbi, and a Catholic nun. Once again they made a different choice. The Russian lad was a Jew, the German a Catholic, and the English boy a Protestant. Then they came face to face with themselves in a mirror. Over it were the words: "What difference does it make anyhow? We're all Americans."

The boys took a look at each other, lifted their eyebrows in the fun of discovery, and went out of the booth arm in arm with their pockets full of blotters and comic books, each piece telling the story of peoples living together in friendly America. They turned again when they were outside to read the big sign over the booth, "The World in Your Back Yard" and went on their way to the next exhibit. They had had a new experience of brotherhood at their county fair.

The brotherhood booth had its origin in the thought that a natural gathering place such as a county fair would be a good place to reach a large number of people with a good idea. It looked like a place where religion should go, and where brotherhood could be sold—without price.

The thought was presented to the fair authorities, the manager of the fair being a Baptist deacon. They were happy to hear of a new effort to bring something of a worth-while nature to the hundred thousand folk who streamed through the gates of the fairgrounds. The fair is unusual in that it is one of the few in the country that developes a theme with an educational purpose. The theme this year was to be "Peace in Our

Time," and counting a brotherhood booth in on that program was as basic as bread and butter to life.

The next step in selling the idea was to get enough backing for it so that many people would be interested and even come to help in the planning. There was no over-all agency to which to appeal. The local rabbi was approached and he led the way to the leaders in the B'nai B'rith Lodge of Morris County. The circle widened with other organizations in the field of brotherhood and human relations: the Morris County Urban League, the National Jewish Congress, the Morris County Youth Fellowship League, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, the Metropolitan Women's League (Negro), the National Conference of Christians and Jews, the Social Action Committee of a local Presbyterian church, and representatives of the Baptist church. The idea of the booth was presented and was greeted with genuine interest. Out of this gathering of representatives came a working committee which met three times to set up different phases of the project. The financing of the booth came from the contributions of many of these groups. The expenses were not great, since the offers of equipment were beyond the need.

Young visitors discover what brotherhood means at the county fair. New Jersey churches and civic groups experiment with brotherhood project which attracts 100,000 visitors and wins new interest in friendly human relations.

I AM SO AN AMERICAN!

We agreed with the fair officials to take a booth twenty by thirty feet in size and to present visually ideas of brotherhood, to demonstrate that there were individuals and groups throughout our country who had achieved a depth of fellowship across lines of race, faith, and national background, and who would work together in concerted fashion for the ideals we cherish in America. As the plan developed and the fair officials learned of its emphases, the booth was given status by being included in the larger theme of "Peace in Our Time," and we were given a choice location in what was called the International Square. This square was lined with official UN flags sent from UN headquarters, and booths of different world interest, such as the United Nations Association, the World Federalists, the Bahai Movement, Women for Peace, etc., lined up their exhibits to make a colorful presentation of their programs for world peace. With this recognition our little plans became big plans, and we received mention in all the publicity and program material of the fair.

The days before the fair were busy ones and offers of help came from many quarters. The plan of the booth was laid out by a Jewish contractor. His wife spent endless hours on the craftwork for the flag exhibit. A groceryman lent his truck to transport the tables, chairs, and equipment; a Baptist engineer came with his skills to hook up the intricate wiring system for floodlights and visual aid equipment; a professional sign painter gave his work free to give the booth prominence and color; the women of the various organizations served as secretaries to send out information through the mail to country folk and to secure a wide listing of clergymen, civic leaders, and clubs as sponsors. When the booth opened we were convinced the project had merit, for we had discovered a great desire on the part of many different kinds of people to be counted in on the work.

The activities in the program of the booth were designed to catch the eye and ear of the fairgoer, both day and night. In the daytime, when movies could not be shown, sightseers were invited into the booth to see the display, to receive literature, and to talk with the staff. They were invited to check over their "Americanism Score" in a little quiz they could give themselves by checking the answers to basic brotherhood questions. One man, as he looked over the list before checking it, said, "Now I'll see what kind of man I am."

Throughout the day music floated out from the loud-speakers, the favorites being "The Little Songs on Big Subjects" and Irving Caesar's "Sing a Song of Friendship." Free literature was secured from all brotherhood organizations and many thousands of pieces were given out. Comic books of brotherhood stores, blotters, leaflets describing brotherhood organizations, pamphlets on human relations, school wrappers with Americanism themes, were carried away by all.

The best crowds were gathered at night with the showing of the excellent brotherhood films. *The House I Live In, Boundary Lines, Make Way for Youth, Brotherhood of Man, Don't Be a Sucker*, and the color films on the Friendship Songs were among the favorites. The clock outside the booth told the time of the next show. For variety every half hour the films were changed. As the week went on, the booth picked up great interest and the tent was not big enough to seat the crowd. On hand at all times were teams of leaders of the different races and faiths. A Catholic schoolboy ran the projector in turn with white and Negro, Christian and Jewish chums. The director and members of the organizations came to take their turn as attendants. The National Conference of Christians and Jews sent a special worker from the home office. The New Jersey head of B'nai B'rith was on hand with suggestions and help. An executive secretary of the Federal Council of Churches took his turn. For the first time in the county people were together on the theme of "people living together."

What did it all amount to? The booth was a great success and is still talked about in the county. Many people got their first insight into the meaning of democracy in action in the field of human relations. For the first time brotherhood organizations in the county were united on a project. And those that worked at it achieved that good feeling that comes when a good idea is advanced another peg along the line of progress. A new fellowship sprang up with all who shared in the booth and it carries on in many ways today. We really found our brothers and new ways to work together.

Plans are under way this year and the newly formed local Conference of Christians and Jews will be the sponsor. Brotherhood will be doing business at the old stand! Any groups could do it; an individual could start the ball rolling. Take the cue from the Old Testament prophets, go like Amos and Jeremiah to where the people are in droves and sell your idea. Go like Jesus, as an itinerant preacher into the summertime market place and speak the words of new life. Religion and brotherhood belong to the people. Take them to the fair.

Sanctuary

Invocation:

Eternal and all-wise God, who in thy wisdom didst see fit to set our feet as a nation in such pleasant places and give us such a goodly heritage, all so unmerited on our part, send out thy light and thy truth into us and through us to a needy world, and give us strength to follow in the path of thy will, whatever the cost. Through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

Hymn: "Dear Lord and Father of Mankind."

Responsive Reading:

LEADER: God that made the world and all things therein, he, being Lord of heaven and earth, dwelleth not in temples made with hands;

PEOPLE: *Neither is he served by men's hands, as though he needed anything.*

LEADER: Seeing he himself giveth to all life, and breath, and all things;

PEOPLE: *And he made of one blood all nations of men to dwell on all the face of the earth,*

LEADER: Having determined their appointed seasons, and the bounds of their habitation;

LEADER: There is no difference between the Jew and the Greek: for the same Lord over all is rich unto all that call upon him.

PEOPLE: *For whosoever shall call upon the name of the Lord shall be saved.*

Scripture: Exodus 3: 1-18a.

Interpretation:

Moses' first experiment in labor-management mediation, his first attempt to referee and achieve social justice for a nation of slaves was abortive. It nearly cost him his life. It did cost him his privileged and pampered position as prince of Egypt. He was forced to flee to the desert of Midian where he had forty years to cool off, to learn patience, and to have impressed upon him the fact that an act of violence done in wrath is not God's plan for achieving a good end.

The stage was thus set for that remarkable confrontation with God in the burning bush that burned yet was not consumed. The clarion call of duty came home to him; God told him that he was the divinely chosen man for the task (Ex. 3: 8, 10): "I am come down to deliver them out of the hand of the Egyptians. . . . Come now therefore, and I will send thee unto Pharaoh, that thou mayest bring forth my people."

It is also everlastingly to Moses' credit the spirit in which he faced this call of God to dangerous adventure. He removed his sandals and hid his face in reverence; then in humility and distrust of his own powers he shrank from so great a mission, saying, "Who am I, that I should go unto Pharaoh?" Having received the encouragement (v. 12), "Certainly I will be with thee," his next query amounts to this (v. 13): "Who shall I say sent me? If I tell them the God of their fathers sent me, what shall I say is his name?" Then, armed with the strength of that, "I Am hath sent me unto you," he was ready and expendable for the task.

There is an interesting parallel here with the call of our nation today. Like Moses, who dimly saw his mission when in wrath he killed the Egyptian who was bullying a fellow Israelite, in 1917-1918 we as a nation dimly saw our mission. We rose in wrath and slew the German *Junker* monster that threatened all Europe—and the world. But it was abortive—just as was Moses' first attempt to assert his mission—because done in the wrong spirit. We acted mightily, but we did not change history and our action did not receive the signal blessing of Almighty God.

We never saw our mistake as a nation. Our noble adventure failed. We were disillusioned and slipped back into isolationism for twenty-five years between two world wars, both ostensibly fought under the banner of the same lofty idealism, and both signal failures at accomplishing their objectives. We were intent on "business as usual," we froze to death the League of Nations (a potential UN), we sold oil and arms to Japan, Germany, and Italy to our own destruction when we knew it was wrong—anything to enrich ourselves, follow the dictates of political expediency, and escape involvement in the affairs of other nations. We answered wrongly another age-old question, "Am I my brother's keeper?" And so we, negatively at least, reaped World War II.

We fought this war to a finish and won under the banner of more fine idealisms like "the four freedoms," "the American way of life," "make the world safe for democracy." These slogans sounded good during the heat of battle, but they proved unconvincing to the small nations and turned sour in our own mouths when we found our confused diplomacy intermittently supporting colonial imperialisms or using the nobly conceived United Nations suspiciously like a pawn in achieving our ends or winning a trick in the game of power politics. We shouted loud and long about "our industrial might," "our genius," "our American way of life," "our know-how."

General MacArthur was on the beam when he said, as he sailed into Tokyo Bay to accept the surrender of Japan, "The issues are basically theological." And the Student Volunteer Movement rang a bell when it published recently a pamphlet incorporating this statement: "The great new gestures between nations on the level of scientific advance, politics, health, and education are 'cut-flower' commodities unless world peoples are given also the root from which these modern fruits have sprung: the claims about God and man, made in Christ, by Christendom." I seem to hear the voice of Christ saying, "These things ought ye to have done and not to have left the other undone."

The stand we have taken in Korea seems to be the right one; but are we taking it in the right spirit—when it is reported widely that our soldiers do not know what they are fighting for and despise the enemy, calling them "gooks." Is this the direction in which lies freedom, democracy, lasting brotherhood, and peace? We are confronting a world filled with pagan ideologies of despair and power. Having repented first openly of our own sins and having given God the glory, let us confront the Communist and non-Communist world with a message whose center is a proclamation *of the things that belong to God.* Let us make it unequivocally clear that ours is no condescending ministry that has sprung from a sense of cultural superiority, but from a sense of sin and a oneness with all mankind in dependence upon the love and power of God.

Prayer: "Lord God of Hosts, be with us yet, Lest we forget—lest we forget!"

—Prepared by Rev. Henry H. Bucher, Associate Director, Department of Missionary Education, Presbyterian Board of Christian Education.

About Books

Congress on Trial, by James M. Burns. Harper & Brothers. $3.00.

The writer, in addition to being assistant professor of political science at Williams College, served on the staff of the recent commission headed by Herbert Hoover to study the Government. The subtitle indicates the general nature of the book: "The Politics of Modern Law Making."

This is not a reassuring book. It deals with the problems that face democracy in the United States. The author gives a composite picture of the Congressman and his world. "The Congressman's chief aim is re-election"; his loyalty is first and always to the interests that put him in office. "Least of all does he feel he must conform to the national platform adopted by his party."

Democracy has an "exposed flank," says this scholarly author. It is the public's interest when minority groups bring pressure on the Congressman. As an example he cites the veterans' bonus legislation, vetoed by four Presidents but passed just the same. And no one suffered at the polls, neither the probonus Congressmen nor the antibonus Presidents. The heart of our trouble in the United States is the impotence of party, says this expert. We do not have two-party government. "We have in Congress, as far as public policy is concerned, a group of splinter parties."

Unfair districting, unrepresentative committees, the seniority rule, and obstructionism in Congress give us Houses of Misrepresentation. To illustrate, Mr. Burns gives the story of three bills. Congress cannot, as it is now functioning, discharge its supervisory duties any more than it can its legislative.

The author arrives at this conclusion: "Only by vitalizing our two-party system . . . will Americans be able to stabilize presidential leadership and foster teamwork in the federal government."

—John C. White.

Responsible Christianity, by Justin Wroe Nixon. Harper & Brothers. $2.50.

Christians who have the conviction that they are "responsible" to put their faith into action, as the leaven of a free society, are the hope of our day. Dr. Nixon, professor in the Colgate-Rochester Divinity School, discusses the basic insights of the Christian religion, and indicates their relevance to the needs of men in this age. He deals helpfully with the question, "Does the intellectual outlook that has become increasingly influential among educated people leave any room for religion?"

The author pleads for a religious living that is "responsible"—"living that is aware of the realities beyond man that have a claim upon him." He calls for both private self-discipline and public social discipline among Christians. If we will take our obligations seriously, we can change the climate spiritually, even as the early Christians changed the spiritual climate of the Roman Empire.

Chapter Four, "A New Apostolic Age," outlines what we must do. The Church in order to make the Christian system the regenerative force suggested in the phrase "leaven of a free society" must teach, exemplify, project in action, think through faith.

Dr. Nixon always stimulates and helps his readers to think through basic questions. Pastors will find this a rewarding book.

—Gordon W. Mattice.

CHRISTIAN *Action*

"THE THINGS WHICH BELONG UNTO PEACE"

On February 28 the Detroit Presbyterial Society, under the direction of its SEA secretary, Mrs. Charles Cassady, sponsored an institute on world order with the theme "The Things Which Belong Unto Peace."

The program was set up for an all-day meeting beginning at ten o'clock. Its purpose was to clarify and crystallize the thinking of concerned women who want to be guided by Christian principles as they study political action for peace in the light of Christian teaching. After a worship service and keynote address, the women broke up into four conferences: United Nations, Point Four Program, Militarization of America, Duties of Peace. Then, following a co-operative luncheon (sandwiches from home) the conference leaders formed a panel to present their findings. Then the day's thinking was pointed up in a concluding address, "Peace as a Consequence." Mimeographed lists of available literature and suggestions for resultant action were handed to each woman present. The well-stocked literature table was stripped almost bare by the end of the day. Follow-up letters are now being sent to each local SEA secretary.

The worship service that opened the day's program stressed the fact that peace begins with people, people whose lives radiate the peace of Christ in attitudes, words, and actions. Christians who are strong enough to do God's will could save the world from impending disaster.

"Peace can be achieved . . . only as there passes from each of us that indomitable will to wipe from the earth the social evils that drive people to murder as they strive to secure what another has, that they too may have a fuller life. . . . Peace by co-operation is the path, and that co-operation in every area of life for the common good."

The burden of the keynote address was that man's very first freedom, freedom of the will—the power to choose between right and wrong—must determine all his other freedoms. Ever since God bestowed upon man that gift of the right to choose either good or evil, human progress has depended not on God alone but on the striving of each man individually.

Here and there history is dotted with the efforts of men in behalf of common rights and common freedoms. Outstanding among them is the English Magna Charta, the American Declaration of Independence, France's Declaration of the Rights of Man, our own Bill of Rights, and, more recently, the Charter of the United Nations with the first *Universal* Declaration of Human Rights.

When free and righteous men use their God-given initial liberty to establish basic rights and freedoms the world around, there will be little incentive to war. Peace must be established from within—not by erecting external structures. As man chooses the path of brotherhood and peace, his free will more nearly coincides with the divine will. We have the power to choose to work with Him and for him!

Summary of Conference Findings

After a careful and detailed study of the United Nations and its achievements thus far, the group felt that it is still the best road we have to peace and should be strengthened and upheld in every possible way. Among its foremost accomplishments are the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, magnificent culmination to all similar preceding declarations; the International Trusteeship System, which is helping dependent peoples in their rise from serfdom to self-government; the amelioration of the conditions of millions of people all over the globe by constructive work on such matters as labor relations, health, nutrition, education, agricultural development, refugee and child welfare; and the prevention or ending by peaceful means of wars involving some 500 million people.

President Truman's Point Four proposals for technical and economic aid to the backward areas of the world were presented as highly commendable, provided the relief is administered through the UN rather than on a bilateral basis and the program can be administered without taint of ulterior motive, exploitation, or imperialism. Questions were raised as to whether the Church or the Government would prove the better agency, and whether individual effort might be preferable. The phenomenal work of the Near East Relief was cited to show what might be done with greater funds. It was noted that Christians have been supplying "technical aids" to backward areas for some time (e.g., Sam Higginbottom in India), but with far less spectacular budgets than the Government is accustomed to drawing up.

The conference on militarization pointed out that American thinking is being "conditioned" by military publicity and propaganda in newspapers and magazines, also that research in colleges and universities is being directed toward destructive rather than constructive ends. Selective service, formerly under civilian control, is now in the hands of the military. The Navy and Army are planning for a reserve of 4,682,000 men by 1952. Of the 1950 budget, 13 billion are for defense, 400 million for education. Three fourths of the 1951 budget are for military purposes.

The following positive approach was recommended: (1) Eliminate arms growth; (2) add humility to diplomacy in foreign relations; (3) take a definite stand against War III: talk it down; (4) urge sufficient arms for defense, not for war; (5) capture real spirit of the UN charter; (6) stop giving Russia such undue importance.

The group studying the "Duties of Peace" emphasized that it is our Christian duty as good citizens to vote regularly, to know what bills are before Congress, and to approve or protest legislation according to the dictates of our Christian conscience. Detroit women are interested in a housing survey being made by presbytery, and are on the alert against unfair discrimination in all local housing projects. Of the 50 Displaced Persons units assigned to Detroit Presbytery, 33 assurances have thus far been given and immediate action was urged to complete the entire assignment. Human rights and race relations could be so exemplary in the U.S. that they would provide a pattern for all those who "seek the same rights through the UN." The Church should be the first to practice what it preaches. Hearty approval was expressed of the Presbyterian social pronouncements on alcoholism, gambling, pernicious broadcasting, and genocide.

We must, it was stated in the inspirational summary of the day, be significantly Christian, in every area touching life. There must be a world-wide educational process as well as a world-wide evangelization. In the entire approach to the world's ills, only one of two attitudes is possible—security or sacrifice. The consecrated Christian knows which must be his choice.

—Mrs. Homer Johnson, second vice-president, Detroit Presbyterial Society.

OBJECTIVES OF A GENUINE PEACE PROGRAM

Religious leaders representing the Federal Council of Churches, the Synogogue Council of America, and the National Catholic Welfare Conference recently issued these joint objectives for a positive program of peace:

"We are heartily in sympathy with every genuine proposal in the pursuit of international peace. We warn the people of America, however, to be on guard lest they be misled by the so-called 'Stockholm Appeal' now being circulated by Communist and pro-Communist groups. This spurious peace petition, which has already deceived many well-meaning people here and abroad, is a camouflage designed to confuse the free societies and to conceal the aggressive policies revealed in the invasion of Korea. It is these aggressive policies and actual aggression which constitute the greatest menace to world peace.

"Genuine peace requires practical recognition of the fact that not only individuals but nations, states and international society, are subject to the sovereignty of God and to the moral law which comes from God. Genuine peace requires of every people:

"1. Renunciation of the use of war or threats of force as an instrument of national policy.

"2. Loyal adherence to the solemn obligations of the United Nations charter for the maintenance of international peace and security and the peaceful settlement of disputes.

"3. Respect for and observance of human rights and fundamental freedoms for all.

"4. Participation in positive programs of the United Nations for the common welfare and better standards of life.

"5. Acceptance of international agreements for the effective reduction and regulation of armaments, including atomic weapons, by all nations, through a trustworthy system of international inspection and control.

"We urge men of good will to support these objectives of a program for peace."

CITIZENSHIP

Loan to Spain. The omnibus appropriation bill, signed by the President on Sept. 6, carries a provision authorizing a loan of $62,500,000 to Spain. The Administration strongly opposed this and Mr. Truman has said he will "impound" the funds, which he can legally do, to prevent the loan's being made, in this manner.

Genocide. As we go to press, hopes are brighter for action by the Senate on this treaty. The matter has been brought to the fore by a note from the Korean ambassador to our UN delegate, Warren Austin, saying that the Christian population of Korea was in imminent danger of being destroyed by the North Korean Communists.

Children's Fund. An item of $12,500,000 for the U.S. contribution to this Fund was completely eliminated from the appropriation bill by the House-Senate "conference" committee. At this writing, there is a faint hope that provision for this can be made in the supplemental appropriation bill, now in conference, but it is very doubtful.

U.M.T. In a surprise move, the Senate Armed Services Committee called hearings on this matter in August, and almost succeeded in getting a bill to the floor. However, the final action of the Committee was to refer the matter to a subcommittee, with instructions to bring in a bill early in January. A majority of the

Committee expressed approval of the measure, and a *Christian Science Monitor* correspondent wrote, "Congress is more receptive to this legislation than it has been in a generation."

Statehood for Alaska and Hawaii. On September 7, the Senate Democratic Policy Committee put these bills at the end of its "must" legislative list, but talk of strong opposition makes it very doubtful whether a vote can be reached on them. Republicans and Democrats in the Senate oppose their passage now.

Antisubversive Bill. At this writing, Senate-House conferees have reached final agreement on what is termed a strict and sweeping anti-Communist bill. It embodies the provisions of both the House-passed Wood bill and the Senate-passed McCarran bill. It provides for the registration of all organizations labeled Communist or Communist front. Members of such organizations would be barred from getting passports, working for the Government, or in defense plants. It also sets up stringent restrictions on aliens and naturalized citizens and provides for the internment of Communists and other potential saboteurs in time of war, invasion, and insurrection. The bill is expected to pass both houses with sufficient support to override Presidential veto, should it come.

Wage and Price Controls. As a first installment on defense costs—an emergency tax measure to be followed by another—the $5 billion war tax bill is being "ironed out" in a Senate-House Conference Committee, as we go to press. It contains sharp tax increases for individuals and corporations, effective October 1, but action on the excess profits tax has been postponed until later this year or early in the next, with an understanding that it be retroactive for part of this year.

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ORDEAL BY SLANDER

By **OWEN LATTIMORE,** ***Director, Walter Page Hines School of International Relations, Johns Hopkins University.***

Excerpts from the last chapter of Owen Lattimore's own account of his Ordeal by Slander have been reprinted here with the permission of Dr. Lattimore and his publishers, Little, Brown & Company. Earlier chapters of the book are the dramatic, well-documented story of one man's fight to defend himself against charges of disloyalty, and what happened to him and his family and friends when he was falsely accused of being a "top Russian espionage agent in the United States."

A TIDE of fear has swept Washington and is undermining the freedom of the nation. We cannot turn that tide just by vindicating each individual who has been falsely accused; we must re-establish the freedom to inquire and the freedom to express opinions based on independent inquiry. These two freedoms are the flesh and the spirit of our political and intellectual freedom. Unless they are recognized by more than lip service, unless we can actually enjoy them in practice, the rights of the citizen are doomed.

The witch-hunting of which McCarthy is a part is recruited from ex-Communists and pro-Fascists, American Firsters, anti-Semites, Coughlinites, and similar fringe fanatics of the political underworld. It was groups like these that Hitler used to run interference for him, causing the confusion and dismay that he and his real backers, the big-time reactionaries, needed in order to take over the state.

McCarthyism has not yet been successful in establishing thought control, but it is using well-tried propaganda methods in its effort to do so. In order to stop a well-qualified independent expert from expressing his personal opinion, the McCarthy method is to accuse him of other things. Accuse him of being an espionage agent. Bring in a witness to accuse him, not on the grounds of what the expert has written, but on the ominous suggestion that he "organized" other writers. Accuse him of being the "architect of Far Eastern policy." Throw a bomb which emits clouds of nauseous smoke and then turn in a false fire alarm. The next step is to use the simple propaganda device of insisting over and over again, even weeks after complete evidence has disclosed the false alarm, that where there is so much smoke there must be some fire.

THE McCarthy kind of politician resorts to Congressional immunity to build up his charges in a way that would be libelous if first made in the press or on the radio. But if the charge is made under immunity, the quoting of it does not expose the press and radio to libel actions. A charge made under Congressional immunity has sensational news value. Under a pattern of journalism that has, unfortunately, become frozen and conventional, press and radio are bound to follow up every angle of a sensational charge. But disproof is rarely sensational. An accusation is positive. It asserts that something sinister and exciting exists. Disproof is negative. It merely demonstrates that nothing sinister or exciting exists. If it doesn't exist, it is less newsworthy and gets a smaller headline and a smaller story. Since millions of people read only headlines, the accusation persists in the public mind.

The McCarthy demagogues who are working to destroy our traditional liberties have already made great gaps in the tradition of freedom which has made this country unique. They have been working to strengthen and to exploit politically a dark tide of unreasoning, hysterical fear. McCarthyism insists constantly, emotionally, and menacingly that the man who thinks independently thinks dangerously and for an evil, disloyal purpose.

The resulting danger to American democracy is clear and present. We are beginning to reflect in our own conduct that which we abhor in thought control as the Russians enforce it. We are repelled by the servile way in which every Soviet contribution either to the social sciences or to the natural sciences has to be certified by the writing in of paeans on the superiority of Marxism, tributes to Stalin as the source of all wisdom, invective against "bourgeois science," and attacks on scientists in democratic countries as camp followers of "capitalist imperialism."

It is time for us to wake up to the fact that the McCarthy tactics of bullying any man who stands up for an independent opinion are crowding us into setting up a similar vicious standard here in America.

The special pressure groups that promote McCarthyism have already succeeded in intimidating Washington to such an extent that fair-minded Senators feel they have to be very cautious in coming even indirectly to the aid of its victims by establishing the real facts which disprove the accusations. The pressure on them is made heavier by the fact that the Republicans are trying to stake out a claim to be the Kremlin of anti-Russian and anti-Communist ideology. The Democrats, in reply, are trying to show that they are just as anti-Russian and anti-Communist as the Republicans. As a result, both parties are to an alarming extent neglecting the most vital issue, which is the maintenance of democratic standards and practices in the face of both Communism and the demagoguery of the witch-hunters.

MOST newspapers, moreover, are Republican or Democrat, and, like Congressmen and Senators, they feel the pressure either to prove that the Republicans are the noblest Red catchers of them all or that the Democrats are not a step behind them on the trail of blood. Because some newspapers, radio programs, and motion pictures have helped to swell the tide of emotion and panic, all of them are now in danger of being swept away by it.

If the individual can be successfully intimidated, then whole areas of timidity can be created among politicians, in the press, on the radio, in the moving picture industry, and in schools and colleges. We have the grave and recent warning of history that once a whole society has been softened up in this way it is easy to create a demand for a leader who will resolve the confusion, impose conformity and regimentation, and install the fascism that is the final ambition of the demagogues.

The standards that the witch-hunters are trying to impose on us are the standards of propaganda, of mob thinking, and of thought control. They have no place in a free atmosphere of individual and independent thinking.

Research must not be bounded by any kind of political doctrine. When the presentation of unpalatable knowledge becomes dangerous to the individual, the state itself is endangered.

The problems raised for us by Communism in Russia, Communism in countries not controlled by Russia, and the fact that there are also Communists in America, are going to interact on each other in the future as do many other internal and external problems. This complex of problems will require American research workers, social scientists, and publicists to set strict standards for themselves, to defend these standards, and to establish a place for them in American public opinion.

MARXISM and subvarieties of Marxism are going to play a continuing part and a more and more complicated part in the world's affairs. Our national security in dealing with other countries, and also the health and vigor of our own political life at home, requires careful study of Marxism in all its forms and all its divergent political organizations.

We cannot, for our own safety, entrust the expert study of Marxism only to reactionaries who are opposed to all forms of liberalism as well as to Marxism. Still less can we afford to place ourselves in the hands of people whose claim to be experts rests solely on the fact that they are ex-Communists. It is extremely rare to find an ex-Communist who is dispassionate enough to be able to keep separate his change of ideas and his personal antagonism toward people whose ideas he used to share. We certainly cannot afford to entrust the assessment of ideas, either in foreign policy or in politics at home, to men of whom we are never sure whether they are honestly treating ideas as ideas, or pursuing personal vengeance against individuals or cliques among their former associates.

It is a perversion of all common sense to make renegades into heroes of our society, but McCarthyism has progressed so far that Senator Chavez has referred to the bitter fact that the man who has never been a Communist is being reduced to a low status because he cannot, like the ex-Communist, produce a certificate of former membership in the Communist Party. Moreover, we should remember that a Communist who has left the Communist Party may have genuinely quarreled with his former comrades and yet still be a subversive revolutionary, differing from other Communists merely in sectarian dogma.

It is not ex-Communists but independent researchers with a tradition of free expression who have made the most authoritative analyses and predictions of Marxism and Communist policy. In the long run a democracy must rely on independent, nonrenegade experts as the only experts who can make a conscious and sustained effort to see things in perspective.

WE ARE in one of those national crises in which the fundamental cause of liberty will either be seriously impaired or renewed and strengthened, depending on what we do. To break the grip of fear we must revive both the letter and the spirit of the Bill of Rights, which have been violated by the witch-hunting method of intimidating Government personnel and private citizens by denunciation. The United States was founded in a period of crisis, and men experienced in crisis hysteria insisted on adding to the Constitution provisions intended to protect citizens from unjustifiable prosecution.

The Bill of Rights that they wrote was sharply devised to meet the dangers of unjust arrest and imprisonment without trial—the principal dangers to which citizens were exposed in those days whenever there was a wave of mass hysteria or official persecution. A modern addition to that kind of danger is persecution by denunciation. Because of the media of mass publicity, such as the press and radio—particularly when a member of the Congress provides the occasion by abuse of the privilege of immunity

—this kind of persecution and intimidation now goes on unchecked. Unless we see to it that persecution by denunciation is not allowed to happen here, we shall soon find that the Bill of Rights is a monument to the past rather than a bulwark against present evils.

The standards of Congressional investigation should be brought into line with modern requirements. A Senatorial committee of investigation works in a manner that is not comparable to trial by an impartial jury because it is impossible in face of a flood tide of political pressures to grant a fair trial. If we are to break the grip of fear, it is necessary to change the procedures of investigation to conform to the spirit of our Bill of Rights. The Senatorial committee of investigation is one of the indispensable checks and balances of our government, but it must protect individuals who are examined from losing their liberty and their property without due process of law.

Of course we need in times like these an able and effective Government agency to ascertain and check on persons who are subversive or foreign agents. The powers of this agency should be strictly limited and subject to constant review so that the agency does not gradually expand its function and bring under its jurisdiction people whose opinions are merely minority opinions.

I am convinced by my experience that it is most important that the Senate and House should devise methods for restraining their own members. Within the Congress, there are long-established and elaborate rules to control the denunciation of members by members. There should also be rules to protect private citizens from denunciation on the floor of the Senate or House. Accusations against individuals should be made to the investigative agencies of the Government, or in the way any other citizen has to make them—in public, where if they are libelous they may be tested in a court of law.

It has now become an urgent necessity to protect ourselves against abuse of the campaign for security by people who, while proclaiming their patriotism, may themselves be guided by motives that are sinister or selfish. Huey Long, a cynical and unprincipled politician, long ago warned us that if Fascism ever came to America it would come disguised as one hundred per cent Americanism. By the same token, one hundred and fifty percent denunciation of vaguely and imprecisely defined "Reds" may be a disguise for those who would destroy democracy.

The freedom of the majority is only safe if the freedom of the minority—any minority—is protected. While we are restoring to the individual the protections of the fifth and sixth amendments, restoring the dignity of the Congress, restoring the confidence of the public, and thus breaking the grip of fear at home, we must also renew our attack on the problems that face us throughout the world. We must do so through open debate, strengthened by the conviction that all opinions, including minority opinions, are entitled to a full hearing. We must renew our faith in this traditional way of a democratic society. We must not allow ourselves to be bulldozed by those who in the name of "discipline" or a supposed "national emergency" try to insist that debate be suspended and that in face of a totalitarian menace we should adopt the most dangerous two-edged weapon of the enemy and make ourselves an authoritarian state.

What we must above all defend, as we value our own freedom, is the right of any man to his opinion, even if it offends powerful men or criticizes public authority.

We must defend this right because a healthy democratic society must be a living, growing, changing thing. To conserve its democratic character it must determine change, in the interest of the majority, through public debate which allows all minority interests and views to be represented and defended.

THOSE who demand that their own selfish interests be made paramount, and who for that reason oppose all change, are obstructively antidemocratic. Those who seek first to encroach on and then to deny the rights and privileges of others in the greedy ambition to extend their own rights and privileges are active subverters of democracy.

It is more than our democratic right to oppose these men. It is the most sacred of our duties. Free men must stand together or fall one by one. The free man can assert his freedom only in association with other free men. Unless freedom is practiced, it withers. Therefore to write freedom into law is not enough. It must be affirmed and reaffirmed in every generation.

God and the Nations is off the press! This co-operative study book deals with the most critical issues that confront Christians today. Each of its five chapters is written by an expert in international affairs and each chapter proposes solutions which churchmen will want to examine and discuss. Order from Westminster Book Stores. $1.00.

Later this winter a companion publication will be published entitled _Study and Action for "God and the Nations."_ It will be a practical handbook for social action leaders, full of resource material for discussions, techniques and methods, designed to intrigue individual and group interest.

JOHN T. FLYNN LOOKS AHEAD

By **LESTER DE KOSTER**, ***Assistant Professor of Speech, Calvin College.***

POLITICAL stakes come high these days, and one of the elements in the bitter struggle for control of the apparatus of the state is the written word. There are those who believe that an electorate well informed by honest discussion of all sides of all issues is the only security for permanence in the democratic order. There are others who believe that the people cannot be trusted with both sides of an argument, but must be propagandized into attitudes and actions. Among the latter are those who think that the people can be hoodwinked into believing what they are wanted to believe, and noteworthy among these is Mr. Flynn and his widely distributed *The Road Ahead.*

The Technique Is Simple

The Flynn method is relatively simple. First, socialism is a term flexible enough to be indiscriminately applied. Next, socialism is desperately bad. This is demonstrated by sketching in selectively all the darkest hues of the British experiment. Next, the fate of Britain now hovers over the U. S. in the stealthy machinations of the "Socialist Planners." This useful term is obtained by deliberately confusing Communism, socialism, Fascism, social planning, industrial planning, industrial democracy, and even "the Kingdom of God," so that whatever opprobrium attaches in the public mind to all of these together can be focused on anyone who advocates any measure Mr. Flynn cares to dub Socialist Planning. Thus, the TVA, the Columbia VA, public housing, public medicine, the Brannan Plan, the Marshall Plan, and any social legislation whatever, are deliberately planned elements in the deep plot to substitute socialism for "the American way." Finally, channel the popular resentment and suspicion the book is intended to arouse by revealing that the "planners" may be found entrenched in the labor unions, the Democratic Party, and, for good measure, the Federal Council of Churches and the colleges.

To accomplish deliberately such ends the book cannot be—nor is it—an objective consideration of the grave issues raised in mid-century by the relation of government to socioeconomic life.

"Where Are We Going?"

The cover of my special edition asserts that Mr. Flynn "thought it was about time for someone to answer" that question, "candidly and with blunt facts." He finds John T. Flynn self-elected to do the job. Eagerly he sets out to "describe the road along which this country is traveling to its destruction." Fortunately, however, on page 7, "we still have in our hands the means of checking this onrush to disaster." Four pages later, things are worse, and he italicizes: "And it is a grave question whether or not the program has been already so far advanced that reversal may be impossible." This double talk may make the unduly sensitive reader suspicious, but it no doubt is only intended to arouse his alarm. He pushes on to see what this "program . . . already so far advanced" really is. He must be very patient. Only after 119 pages is Mr. Flynn finally ready to say "how far we have proceeded in this seizure of power over the economic system," and then one discovers that the "program" which so threatens us consists of (1) a dubiously "proved" Federal "invasion" of the field of banking and credit, (2) the TVA, (3) the proposals for public medicine, the Spence Bill, and the Brannan Plan, and (4) that is all. The cannon so noisily loaded in Chapter One goes off 119 pages later with the boom of a toy pistol. But be not misled. It has served its purpose well. For these 119 pages have been studiously employed to pin the Red label on the unions, the Democrats, the A.D.A., and anyone else the author is suspicious of.

Upon examination, the "program" grows even more meager. (1) His reasoning to show the Federal "invasion" of banking and credit may be cited as illustrative of the Flynn manner. Categorically he assures us, "But for the time being the Federal power over the national credit agencies on the British model is an accomplished fact" (p. 134). But one remembers that he has already said, "It [the Federal Government] does not yet have the power to decide what types of loans may be made to private industry. . . . It is this which gives the Socialist government of England the power of life and death over every industry in Great Britain" (p. 131).

(2) In electrical power, "the Federal Government was generating 9 per cent of the total producing capacity of the continental U. S.," by 1947. The reader may be mildly surprised to find that only 9 per cent constitutes a significant part of a "program . . . so far advanced that reversal may be impossible," but Mr. Flynn assures him that more "is in the works" (p. 135), a new synonym, no doubt, for "a program far advanced." That the TVA was sponsored by a distinguished Republican Senator who would have had a derisive snort for being characterized a plotting

"Socialist Planner," Mr. Flynn knows right well. It is not the only thing he knows right well which he does not bother to point out, nor let influence his conclusions.

(3) As for proposals not yet law, if they are evidence of how far we now are on "the road to destruction," or if they constitute a "program" already "far advanced," they have a degree of reality seldom accorded proposals hitherto.

"The War on the South"

Inasmuch as Flynn's book is being given wide distribution by a group which dubs itself the Committee for Constitutional Government, the chapter on Negro suffrage contains an element of surprise peculiarly its own. One might, that is, innocently, expect a defense of Federal suffrage for the colored folk. But Mr. Flynn reasons that the colored vote, if permitted to reach the polls, would be given to those ubiquitous Socialist Planners. "But first of all they must get for these vast hordes"—a genteel description—"of Negroes the right to vote" (p. 101). He has not noticed in his copy of it that the Federal Constitution already has a fourteenth and a fifteenth amendment. Is, therefore, the "true liberal [could Mr. Flynn mean John T. Flynn?] going to put his weight on the side of the revolutionary Red drive to recruit the Negro"—that fighting for simple Constitutional rights is "revolutionary" is a remarkable conception—" in order to swell the ranks of the army of Socialist voters who will be used to complete the destruction of our political and economic system? Or will he say that this Negro question must be subordinated to the greater one of preserving our political and economic civilization? Will we hurry the Negro to the polls to set him upon a path that will end in destroying the liberties of us all—white and black alike" (p. 103)?

A more cynical rhetorical flourish is difficult to imagine. That it is sponsored by a Committee that calls itself for Constitutional government compounds the ignominy. The Constitutional amendments did not envisage that a Negro should need the imprimatur of Mr. Flynn to exercise his right of suffrage; and if Mr. Flynn does not believe in the amendments as they stand, let him urge their repeal. Reasoning as he does under the guise of defending the Constitution, after he has said on page 37: "There are things of the spirit which are the core of our culture. And one of these . . . is human freedom. . . . And what does this involve? It involves the right to choose our rulers. . . ," gives the reader a moral nausea.

"We Must Be Clear . . ."

The temptation to catalogue examples of Flynn's manipulation of words and facts would push this paper beyond bounds, but at least his treatment of terms should not be permitted to blush alone. He makes a studied effort to confuse distinctions between Communism, socialism, *et al.*, for purposes already suggested. Thus on page 26: "The great scripture of world socialism is called the Communist Manifesto. But Marx and Engels, who wrote it, called themselves Socialists." Mr. Flynn might know that in the preface to the manifesto Engels carefully distinguishes between the two terms, and writes, "We could not have called it a Socialist Manifesto." On page 80: "There is no need to make too fine a point of distinction between Communists and the Social Planners." Writing of Bishop Oxnam, however, he changes his tune: "But there is no point in calling him a Communist. He is a Socialist" (p. 108). Libel suits cost money. On page 116 he says that "everyone knows" that "industrial democracy" is a "synonym for socialism." Later: "Russian Communism is merely [why merely?] a more extreme form of socialism than British Fabianism" (p. 126). E. Stanley Jones "is a Christian preacher who has found a new name for socialism—the 'Kingdom of God.'" And, just to slight no one: "Fascism is Fabian socialism plus the inevitable dictator" (p. 149). If you are given to a taste for irony, turn back to page 26 and read, "We must be clear about the use of words." Indeed?

Not until we face clearly and fearlessly the question of why men all over the world are attracted by the "left" in preference to what they have, can we formulate an adequate program for preserving and implementing the democratic life as we cherish it. Nor, indeed, so long as we pillory those who seek to evaluate objectively our historical situation can we as a common people hope to receive the means to understand, let alone to solve, the problems which the modern world thrusts upon political and social democracy.

To follow the Flynns will serve only to so sharpen our internal tensions that someday each of us will face a choice nationally analogous to that Mr. Acheson faces internationally, namely, to support Fascist and reactionary brigands because we think they are better than the Communist brigands their own maladministration has engendered.

And those in our own country who disseminate books like this one may selfishly win the hour, but will lose the day for us all. A church group that commends the author does not know its own function within the creative democratic order, but affronts the intelligence and moral standards of its constituency.

DIXON APPEALS ITS CASE

By **CLIFFORD EARLE**, ***Associate Secretary, Division of Social Education and Action, Presbyterian Board of Christian Education.***

The author introduced Social Progress *readers to Dixon's crusade for free schools in the December, 1949, issue. Thousands of reprints of Mr. Earle's first article have been requested by groups and individuals across the country. Friends of the Dixon Free Schools Committee have been eager to know the latest developments in this celebrated case. Mr. Earle's second article describes these and briefly recapitulates the earlier aspects of Dixon's struggles to maintain a fundamental principle of American democracy—the separation of Church and State.*

The Dixon free schools case has entered its second phase. The plaintiffs in the famous suit have appealed to the Supreme Court of New Mexico for complete relief from Roman Catholic domination of public schools in Dixon and twenty-five other communities in the state. The appeal claims that the judgment of the district court in which the suit was tried in 1948 was not sufficiently broad to guarantee real separation of Church and State in the schools of New Mexico.

Background of the Problem

The controversy began in Dixon, a quiet village in northern New Mexico, forty-seven miles from Santa Fe. The twelve hundred inhabitants are mostly of Spanish descent. About half of them are Catholics, the rest Protestants. The town is dominated by St. Joseph's Catholic Church and its parochial school. Prominent also is the Presbyterian mission with its church and day school. Three miles distant, where the Dixon road joins the main highway, stand the comfortable Spanish buildings of Embudo Hospital, famous Presbyterian institution that pioneered in medical service among Spanish-speaking dwellers of the region.

About ten years ago the county school board hired nuns, members of the Third Order of Saint Francis, to teach in Dixon's public schools. Catholic instruction was forced upon all pupils, Protestant as well as Catholic, during school hours. One day the grade school pupils were told that henceforth classes would be held at St. Joseph's school. The public school was run as a Catholic parochial school, on Church property and completely under Church control. The public paid the bills—salaries for the nuns, running expenses, textbooks, bus transportation, hot lunches for the pupils.

A group of fair-minded citizens, Catholic as well as Protestant, petitioned to have the public school removed from Church property. They were told that the formerly used building was no longer habitable, the adobe structure having succumbed to weather and vandals. The free schools group in Dixon then proceeded to raise money for a new school building. The five-room structure was erected in the summer of 1947, and presented to the county. When the new school opened it was learned that a nun was principal and three other nuns were among the teachers. Church domination continued.

The Dixon group, thoroughly aroused, carried their protest to the New Mexico Board of Education. The hearing granted them was unsatisfactory and the board made no real effort to investigate or correct the abuses. It became evident that remedy could be achieved only through court action.

First Trial

In developing their case, the Dixon free schools group sought evidence of Catholic control of public schools in other New Mexico communities. A flying squadron traveled to village after village, visiting schools, taking pictures, gathering proof that the Dixon pattern was reproduced, and sometimes exceeded, in twenty-eight New Mexico communities. The Dixon vigilantes traveled 3,500 miles in collecting material for their complaint.

The suit was entered in the district court in Santa Fe on March 10, 1948, demanding the removal of nuns, brothers, and priests from public-school positions in New Mexico. It named as defendant the governor of New Mexico, state and county school officials involved, the superintendent of Catholic parochial schools in the archdiocese of Santa Fe, and 145 members of Catholic orders teaching in the tax-supported schools listed in the complaint. Before the trial began two of the schools got rid of their nun teachers.

The suit was heard in October, 1948. The presenting of testimony, pro and con, and the questioning of witnesses lasted two weeks. The hearing was colorful, dramatic, exciting. Notable was the naïveté of many of the Catholic nuns who were called to testify. The published record of the case runs to more than 2,000 pages.

The court's verdict was not announced until March 12, 1949. The ruling banned 143 members of Catholic orders from ever again teaching in New Mexico public schools. It also ruled against certain other abuses—public schools in Church-owned buildings, free bus transportation for parochial school pupils, free textbooks for any Church schools, the teaching of sectarian doctrines in public schools, the display of sectarian symbols in public-school classrooms, and the payment of public funds to teachers in parochial schools. The verdict was filed on June 22, 1949, and became law in New Mexico.

Delicate Decision

The court's judgment was apparently a complete victory for the free schools group. It removed from the public schools certain named members of Catholic teaching orders. The state's attorney general ruled, however, that the decree did not prevent other members of the same orders from taking their places. In many communities public schools continued to be manned by Catholic nuns and brothers. The old pattern of Catholic influence in the schools persisted, somewhat restricted but still very real.

The Dixon free schools group were confronted with a delicate choice. Two alternatives opened to them. Determined as they were to achieve complete separation of Church and State in the public schools of New Mexico, they could (1) accept the court's judgment and press for its strict application in every community, winning their goal by local vigilance and persistence, or they could (2) appeal to a higher court for a verdict that would disqualify any and all members of Catholic teaching orders for employment in tax-supported schools in the state.

Many counseled the first of the two alternatives. Consolidate your gains, they said. Don't run the risk of losing everything, they cautioned. The Dixon group, however, saw that the first choice opened upon a dreary and unpromising road. They would have to press their case point by point in village after village. Where Sister X had been disqualified by the court's verdict and was replaced by Sister Y, the free schools vigilantes would have to prove that the same abuses existed so that Sister Y would be disqualified also. They could spend the rest of their lives in wearying litigations.

The Dixon group quickly saw the logic of the second course. A verdict of limited application never could be satisfactory. So on September 20, 1949, they announced their intention to appeal to the New Mexico Supreme Court, and, if necessary, to the U. S. Supreme Court, for a judgment that would eliminate every vestige of sectarian influence in the public schools of the state. The announcement surprised many, especially the defendants, who thought that the Protestant-led free schools group should have been satisfied with the district court's limited verdict.

After the notice of appeal, it was necessary for the record of the first trial to be compiled and published. This took several months; then both plaintiffs and defendants were given time to study the record and prepare their briefs. The brief for the plaintiffs, nearly 200 pages in length, was completed and filed on August 15, 1950. The hearing before the state Supreme Court will probably be held early in 1951.

Basis for Appeal

In petitioning for a broader verdict, the Dixon plaintiffs contend that the employment of members of Catholic teaching orders in tax-supported schools breaks down the absolute wall of separation between Church and State required by the Constitution. It gives the Roman Catholic Church an unfair and illegal advantage over all other Churches and religious groups. The wearing of a religious garb by a teacher in a classroom is in itself a sectarian influence that should not exist in a public school.

The free schools group contends also that the vows under which the members of these religious orders live make it impossible for them to be properly obedient to public-school authorities. They are first and always servants of the Church and propagators of the faith. It would be impossible for them to observe a ruling intended to remove sectarian influence from the classrooms.

The plaintiffs claim also that the payment of tax funds to members of Roman Catholic religious orders, as remuneration for public-school service, is really a payment of tax funds to the religious orders themselves in violation of law. As the nuns and brothers teaching in New Mexico's schools are all under vows of poverty, salaries paid to them are immediately the property of the orders to which they belong, and for this reason are tax exempt. The district court trial brought out the fact that usually school officials dealt directly with the superiors and directors of the Catholic orders in hiring teachers. The teachers were assigned to the schools by their religious superiors and in some counties monthly checks were sent to the Catholic orders covering the salaries of all the sisters or brothers teaching in public schools.

These are the principal abuses from which the Dixon group seek relief in submitting their appeal to the New Mexico Supreme Court.

People and Money

One of the most remarkable aspects of the Dixon case is the spirit and quality of the people back of it. A leading figure in the Dixon group is Lydia Cordova Zellers, daughter of a retired missionary pastor of the Dixon Presbyterian Church and wife of the village's leading merchant. Quiet, courageous, resourceful, Mrs. Zellers has been in the thick of the controversy from the very beginning. In her own community, she has not escaped slander and injury because of her stand. Associated with Mrs. Zellers at every step has been Olive Bowen, who works with her sister, Dr. Sarah Bowen, in the Presbyterian Hospital at Embudo. The pastor of the Presbyterian church in Dixon, Porfirio Romero, has been a strong help in counsel and encouragement. A fearless and able leader throughout has been Paul Stevens, Presbyterian minister in Taos. These four and many, many more!

The Dixon plaintiffs have been particularly fortunate in the selection of their attorney, Harry L. Bigbee, of Santa Fe. An exceedingly able lawyer, Mr. Bigbee believes so earnestly in the democratic principle of separation of Church and State that for him the case has become a cause.

Another remarkable factor of the Dixon case has been the way it has aroused interest and won support in all parts of the country. Without the help of friends in distant places the Dixon group could not have carried on. They made real sacrifices in erecting the new public-school building three years ago. The district court trial cost several thousand dollars more than they could provide out of their own limited means. Thousands of friends across the nation assisted with contributions ranging from a dollar or two to 500 dollars.

The group estimates that $10,000 will be needed for the appeal to the state Supreme Court. Of this amount, all but $2,000 already is in hand. They depend upon their friends for assistance. Contributions may be sent to the Free Schools Committee, Box 45, Dixon, N. M.

If the case goes to the U. S. Supreme Court, a fund of $15,000 will have to be raised. It may be necessary for the Dixon group to solicit help from Presbyterian churches throughout the country in raising this amount.

No Anti-Catholic Bias

The leaders of the Dixon group insist that their crusade for free schools is not an anti-Catholic campaign. They point out that at least two members of the Roman Catholic Church are among the twenty-eight listed as plaintiffs in the district court record of the case. Roman Catholics are included among the friends and contributors who have helped their cause. The attack is directed without bias at certain policies and practices of the New Mexico hierarchy that conflict with the principle of the separation of Church and State.

The goal they seek is a free public school in the great American tradition.

Reprints of this article may be secured without charge from the Division of Social Education and Action.

An App

THE HARVEST

THIS generation is wise enough to know that the nature of a harvest is determined by the kind of seed sown. Apparently it lacks judgment enough to select, or faith enough to sow, the seed that will bring forth the good harvest. Most of us do not expect to gather grapes of thorns or figs of thistles. But apparently we cannot distinguish the thorn from the grape until the evil crop appears—and then it is too late. However, by study and application this fatal ignorance can be corrected. There are also those unprofitable servants who wholly ignore the relation between the nature of the deed and the desired end. They simply do not believe that the means molds the end. They want security. Very well, then, the decisive action is to conscript five million young men for war. They want peace—therefore they drop the atom bombs. And the deed becomes the seed, determining the harvest of fear and violence.

Let it be repeated: It is the means employed which fixes the outcome. Our long prayers are but a pretense or self-deception if we do evil that good may come. Although history and experience offer much evidence in support of this principle, it must be remembered that the promise of our gospel looks beyond history to the everlasting life for its confirmation. This is the essential factor ignored by the realist. "If in this life only we have hope . . . , we are . . . most miserable." For the man who has lost his soul and given up heaven, the only brief profit that remains is to gain the dying world. It is in the context of the life everlasting that the soul knows that no good thing can come from doing evil, and that no evil can befall a good man. The nature of the harvest is sure: "Whatsoever a man soweth, that shall he also reap."

THE HARVESTER OF TARES

ORDEAL BY SLANDER, by Owen Lattimore is a critically important book, revealing the most serious threat to American freedom. It gives the full account of Senator McCarthy's labors as a harvester of tares in the field of American foreign policy. Those who followed the "trial" in the newspapers must not neglect this record of the attack, the

to Faith

Senate hearings, and the clear vindication of Mr. Lattimore. Mr. McCarthy has not yet made good his promise to repeat the charges outside the protection of Senatorial immunity. The last chapter of *Ordeal by Slander* is printed in this issue of Social Progress. In this issue of Social Progress major attention is given to internal security and the loyalty program. The pronouncements of the 162d General Assembly dealing with this problem are printed here. For a clear understanding of the import of these statements, it is necessary to know that they were prepared and adopted during the period when Mr. McCarthy was making his charges.

OUR PRESBYTERIAN POSITION

Blessings of Liberty—from the Social Pronouncements of the 162d General Assembly, Presbyterian Church, U. S. A., 1950: "The American Republic was designed to make secure the *blessings of liberty*. Freedom must be protected against government if the people are to be secure from the excesses of those elected to authority over them. . . . We are disturbed by the abridgment of 'the freedom of speech through intimidation and coercion by groups,' the impairment of 'the security of the people in their person' through the excesses of sincere but misled citizens and their representatives. We deplore the injury suffered by the innocent victims of undemocratic security measures. We are concerned that a course has been followed that seems to be contrary to the declarations of the U. S. Supreme Court in 1945:

> " 'If there is any fixed star in our constitutional constellation, it is that no official, high or petty, can prescribe what shall be orthodox in politics, nationalism, religion, or other matters of opinion, or force citizens to confess by word or act their faith therein.'

"We are deeply concerned about the hysteria that fear and suspicion are arousing in the public mind. We destroy a man when we loosely and falsely make the charge 'a Communist,' 'a Fascist.' We are in danger of bearing false witness against our neighbor unless we have evidence to support such a charge."

—Paul Newton Poling.

WHAT CONSTITUTES IRRESPONSIBILITY ON THE AIR?

By **GIRAUD CHESTER**, *Associate Editor of the* Quarterly Journal of Speech, *formerly Assistant Professor of Speech at Cornell University.*

A speech expert analyzes selected broadcasts by one of the country's most popular commentators, Fulton Lewis, Jr., and throws some light on the pitfalls of one-sidedness and emotionalism into which Mr. Lewis frequently falls.

THE tendency of the press to sensationalize news and manufacture suspense was documented by the Commission on Freedom of the Press in its final report, *A Free and Responsible Press*. The Commission noted sharply that "the worst offenders in this direction are to be found among the newspaper columnists and radio commentators. The members of this craft have come to perform an indispensable function in American public discussion. But they must attract the maximum audience too. Some of them have thought that the way to do this is to supply the public with keyhole gossip, rumor, character assassination, and lies."

The Commission's description of the work of the radio commentators as "indispensable" seems warranted by the obvious fact that it is possible for them to address larger audiences on a regular day-to-day basis than any other molders of public opinion. Furthermore, great portions of the public have come to rely on these men as sources for information and attitude on social and political issues; and most of the commentators can point to very substantial contributions to the public welfare which their position has allowed them to make.

Indubitable as the positive achievements of the commentators are, many students of communications and members of the public have come to associate them with lack of responsibility and competence, and disregard for fact. Precisely what is it that a commentator does that provokes public criticism of his standards?

The following analysis is based primarily on the postwar broadcasts of Fulton Lewis, Jr. This record of commentary has been supplemented by a study of Lewis' files of fan mail, newspaper clippings regarding his activities, pertinent public files of the Federal Communications Commission, interviews with various persons who have been the subject of broadcast attacks, interviews with Lewis' assistants, and several talks with Lewis himself. Three campaigns which this commentator conducted during the postwar period have been selected for particular attention: his attacks on co-operatives, on the Government housing program, and price control.

Fulton Lewis, Jr., is one of the phenomenal tribe of radio newsmen who rose from $25 a week to $250,000 a year in a decade of broadcasting. He was born forty-seven years ago in Washington, D. C., the son of a conservative attorney. He attended high school in the District of Columbia, and then the University of Virginia. On leaving the university, he went to work as a Hearst reporter. Shortly after the 1929 crash, he married Alice Huston, whose father was then chairman of the Republican National Committee.

Of the daily radio commentators, Lewis, who broadcasts over 300-odd stations of the Mutual network, is generally rated among the top half dozen in importance because of his wide coverage, his years of uninterrupted broadcasting, and the several demonstrations of his power to provoke large numbers of letters and telegrams from his listeners.

Nominally a political independent, Lewis has been condemned by Democratic Representative Weiss as a "hatchet man" and praised by Republican Congressman Mundt as "the fairest and most accurate news commentator in America."

Attack on the Co-operatives

Lewis' clash with the co-operative movement is fairly characteristic of his personal crusades. Drawing much of his information from the National Tax Equality Association, an anti-co-op pressure group, he began his attacks in February, 1947. The co-operative movement was presented to Lewis' radio audience as "a new and highly threatening form of superbig business—which by enjoying freedom from the taxation which private enterprise has to pay is becoming a sort of sacrosanct monopoly in many ways more ominous than the worst of the so-called private big businesses of the past." He charged that the "so-called consumer co-operatives" were unduly benefiting from a "legalized system of income tax evasion."

The powerful co-op lobby in Washington protested to Mutual and obtained time on three morning programs to broadcast replies. Quoting favorable comments on their movement by the National Association of Manufacturers and the House Small Business Committee, the co-ops showed that all consumer co-operatives are subject to Federal income taxes and that Lewis himself owned $61.01 of common stock in the Southern States Co-operative. Lewis had, as a matter of fact, collected and cashed dividend checks on his stock for three years.

Seemingly annoyed by this rebuttal, Lewis countered in part by saying that the disclosure of his stockholdings had been made without "obtaining any permission on my part to do so." "There has been no attack in these broadcasts on co-operatives, as such, or on the idea of co-operatives," he maintained. "Co-operatives are an excellent thing as long as they operate as such, and if they are able—as they are in many cases—to outcompete private enterprise, then that's entirely all right."

But within a few weeks Lewis apparently changed his mind and argued that the philosophy of the co-ops "is to tear down and to destroy the profit system. . . . The people who are supporting, promoting, and advancing this are the same left-wingers . . . who want to take the American economic system out of the hands of private enterprise . . . and put it all into the hands of the Government." He termed his $61.01 stockholding "the most involuntary investment that has ever been made in the history of American finance. . . . I am getting my $61.01 back, or else."

To this attack the head of the Southern States Co-operative replied that Lewis' "involuntary investment" consisted of holding onto stock which he had been at liberty to cash in at par value when he received it and that Lewis had the right and privilege to surrender his membership stock and to withdraw from the organization. Furthermore, since the bylaws of the co-op provided that members could be dismissed for "acting contrary to the aims and purposes or best interests of the Association," Lewis would be recommended for dismissal at the next membership meeting if he did not voluntarily withdraw.

Lewis then changed his position and adamantly refused to take his money and get out. The co-op's board of directors met in October, 1947. Accompanied by his Richmond and Washington attorneys, Lewis appeared to defend himself. When, after a day-long session, the board dropped him from the co-op and gave him his liberty, Lewis, reluctant to see the end of so newsworthy an episode and outraged at the injustice done him, said, "We will now move into the courts," and returned to Washington to present his case, once again, to his radio audience.

The Battle About Housing

Government housing programs have been for many years a favorite subject for Lewis' barbed remarks.

During the war, the administrator of the National Housing Agency protested to Lewis that "your various broadcasts on housing . . . have given an unfair and distorted picture and repeatedly confused war housing with the prewar low-rent and slum-clearance programs."

When the President called on Wilson Wyatt to straighten out postwar housing problems, Lewis turned his critical guns on the housing official, but Wyatt proved a resourceful opponent. The crusade reached a climax when Lewis made a sensational broadcast in which he clearly intimated that Wyatt's office was graft-ridden. He cited the efforts of the Tucker automobile company to prevent "confiscation" of a Chicago plant it had leased from the War Assets Administration. The Lustron Corporation, which had Wyatt's official backing because it proposed to manufacture prefabricated houses, had put in a rival claim to the plant. Lewis talked about a "Mr. A," "who had connections . . . with the Government housing crowd," who had said that for a substantial consideration he could stop the confiscation order from going through.

Lewis assured his listeners, "I have sworn affidavits telling this entire story in detail." When "Mr. A" was identified as Theodore Granik, the charge was investigated, and Granik was completely cleared. Testifying under oath as a witness, Lewis admitted that at the time of his broadcast his "affidavits" consisted of a single, unsworn statement by the complainant. Even an ardent admirer would be obliged to conclude that Lewis either did not know the meaning of the word "affidavits" or else he misled his radio audience by deliberately misstating a fact.

Wyatt formally requested Mutual to have a true statement of the facts carried on Lewis' next broadcast. In compliance, Lewis read a corrected statement and told his listeners that he did this voluntarily. He did not, however, vouch for the accuracy of the correction, so he was again presented with a demand that he clear up the record. The next evening Lewis said: "There was also one misstatement in my broadcast, which I am happy to correct. I am happy to make the correction that Mr. Wyatt personally never did sign or issue the order. I regret that Mr. Wyatt felt that there was an implication that he was personally involved in this matter."

This correction failed to make it clear that Lewis did not intend to imply any improper action on the part of other Government housing officials. Wyatt again raised the question with Mutual officials. As a result, in his third consecutive broadcast on the subject, Lewis said: "I certainly did not intend to imply any improper action on the part of the National Housing

Agency. . . . I had no evidence of any such action. . . . I certainly had no intention of questioning the integrity of any individual in the Housing Agency in this matter."

Reversing his field a week later, Lewis said, "At no time has Mr. Wyatt, or anyone else in the National Housing Agency, made the slightest approach to me or made the slightest complaint that anything I have reported to you was incorrect."

This was too much for Wyatt and he again protested. Lewis then reassured his audience that he had invited Wyatt to debate with him in the "good American way," but that Wyatt had declined the offer. He did not mention Wyatt's reply that if Lewis would give him as many broadcasts to tell the Government's side of the housing problem as Lewis had devoted to telling his version, Wyatt would then debate him in the "good American way." Instead, after some discussion, Lewis granted Wyatt a full broadcast to reply.

Wyatt proceeded systematically to examine Lewis' statements, and pointed out how his statements had been distorted.

Answering Wyatt's talk in his next broadcast, Lewis commented: "One of the oldest tricks of debate, if you are unable to defend yourself in the real and commanding issues in a controversy, is to quibble with infinitesimal details. . . . Mr. Wyatt tried to leave the impression with you that inasmuch as I had devoted fourteen broadcasts to the subject of his housing program he should be entitled to the same number of broadcasts in order to put him on an even basis. The truth is . . . there had not been fourteen broadcasts at all, but only eleven."

Assault on the OPA

Lewis' crusades against co-operatives and Government housing were relatively minor campaigns compared with his series of attacks on the Office of Price Administration. During the war, Lewis had indicated his attitude toward OPA by quoting a "common criticism" that "home-economic theorists . . . are having a fine time making guinea pig experiments on a helpless American public."

In April, 1946, Lewis urged complete abolition of price controls, predicting that "removal of OPA may bring price rises of 15 to 18 per cent," but that these "price fluctuations would continue for not more than six months after removal."

When controls were lifted shortly before the 1946 Congressional elections and cattle prices skyrocketed, Lewis, unshaken, asserted confidently, "These present prices are entirely temporary, indeed momentary, and they'll only last a very few days." Unfortunately for the American consumer, as months went by, food prices reached record heights in the decontrolled market. Yet the commentator's audience, to judge by its continued stability in size, did not apparently hold Lewis' predictions against him, nor did Lewis himself experience any particular difficulty in rationalizing what would seem to have been a clear analytical error.

How Much Evidence Is Needed?

Lewis maintains a suite of offices in the Barr Building in Washington, where he works with an editorial assistant, who does most of the leg work, and four office helpers. These facilities, more elaborate than those available to most commentators, do not guarantee accuracy, as we have noted, nor can they restrain an excessive zealousness that sometimes causes Lewis to make rather extravagant judgments. In referring to Truman's Cabinet appointments of Schwellenbach, Clark, and Anderson, he commented, "No three better appointments were ever made to any President's Cabinet, in all the history of this country."

Analysis of the preceding cases indicates that commentators may be said to have departed from the highest standards in two respects: inaccuracy of facts and hyperbole in expression. A degree of both these characteristics, however, appears to be implicit in the role of a popular commentator as presently defined, and to limit the radio analyst to proven facts and matter-of-fact statements would be to dispense with many of his virtues as well as his vices.

It is usually accepted that his stock in trade is largely composed of data beyond the scope of the news reporter, and also that his ability to appeal to large and heterogeneous audiences depends in large part on dramatization and color. If, then, we cannot consider lapses on these scores sufficient grounds for an impeachment, what are the additional factors that give rise to accusations of irresponsibility?

First, the popular commentator should not attempt to make himself appear infallible when his remarks are often based on long chances which the newsman could not afford. Secondly, he should not through excessive emotionalism induce panic or extreme insecurity in his listeners. Thirdly, he should not prejudice his listeners through innuendo, distortion, or suppression of vital information. Fourthly, his ability to popularize and dramatize should not be employed on one side of an issue only.

A commentator, then, should not necessarily be labeled irresponsible if he makes an occasional error or sometimes resorts to colorful language. It is only when opportunities for fair correction are denied, a legitimate retraction is refused, or there is persistence in error, emotionalism, or unfairness that his disservices to society become egregious.

CHRISTIAN *Action*

TWENTY QUESTIONS ON CIVIL LIBERTIES

You believe in the Bill of Rights—but exactly how much civil liberty do *you* think should be allowed in our democracy? This little quiz will tell you where you stand.

If you agree with the statement, put a circle around Y (for "yes"); if not, put one around N (for "no").

1. Government employees accused of disloyalty should have the right to know the sources of information against them and to cross-examine their accusers .... Y N
2. Police and other censors should be allowed to ban books and movies such as *Studs Lonigan* or *Lost Boundaries* .... Y N
3. Personal ability alone should determine an applicant's right to a job, regardless of his race, religion, or national origin .... Y N
4. Labor unions should be permitted to contribute funds to political parties .... Y N
5. The right to vote should be restricted by poll taxes, white primaries, and other such devices........ Y N
6. Colleges are justified in using a quota system to limit enrollment by members of certain racial and religious groups .... Y N
7. Gerald L. K. Smith and Paul Robeson should have the same right to make public speeches as all political leaders .... Y N
8. Trade-unions are entitled to restrict their membership on the basis of color, religion, or national origin Y N
9. Any private individual has the right to criticize any Government or Government official anywhere in the world .... Y N
10. Police officials should have the right to listen in on private phone conversations .... Y N
11. Employers should be permitted to state their views regarding labor unions to their workers .... Y N
12. Movies, plays, and books should be suppressed if they present an offensive characterization of a particular racial or religious group....... Y N
13. The Federal Government should intervene to prosecute lynchers when states or local communities fail to act .... Y N
14. Labor's right to picket includes the right to deny access to struck plants by force of numbers........ Y N
15. Private and religious schools should receive financial support from the Government .... Y N
16. The attorney general is justified in issuing his list of "subversive" organizations without granting them prior hearings .... Y N
17. The Government is justified in barring foreign visitors because of their political or other beliefs...... Y N
18. All Oriental countries should have U.S. immigration quotas on the same basis as other nations........ Y N
19. Tests of Government employees' loyalty should be confined to jobs where national security is involved. Y N
20. Public-school and college teachers should be required to sign a special non-Communist loyalty oath Y N

Play fair—Don't check your score until you answer all questions. In the ACLU's opinion, you get 5 points each for answering YES to numbers 1, 3, 4, 7, 9, 11, 13, 18, 19; and 5 points each for answering NO to numbers 2, 5, 6, 8, 10, 12, 14, 15, 16, 17, 20.

If you score 75 or more . . . then you believe in almost *no* exception to the principles of civil liberty.

These twenty questions were prepared by the American Civil Liberties Union, 170 Fifth Avenue, New York 10, N. Y. Called the "Watchdog of Freedom," this national nonpartisan agency defends the Bill of Rights for everybody, without discrimination. Save this questionnaire . . . try it on your friends . . . use it as the starting point of lively group discussion.

IS *THE READER'S DIGEST* FAIR?

Refused by *The Reader's Digest,* despite hundreds of letters asking that they publish a refutation, Bishop G. Bromley Oxnam's vigorous reply to Stanley High's article, "Methodism's Pink Fringe," is now available in pamphlet form.

Bishop Oxnam is secretary of the Council of Bishops of the Methodist Church, and one of the presidents of the World Council of Churches.

"Will Mr. High name one Communist in the Methodist Church? Just one!" This is the challenge that Bishop Oxnam, a former football star, lays down to Mr. High whom he describes as having been patiently tolerated by Methodism "when he was a young radical."

The bishop's answer first sets forth in the language of the 1948 Episcopal Address Methodism's complete rejection of "Communism, its materialism, its method of class war, its use of dictatorship, its fallacious economics and its false theory of social development." Every bishop signed this repudiation of Communism, Bishop Oxnam states. After citing earlier Methodist condemnations of Marxianism, the bishop adds: "Methodism was on record as opposed to Communism before many were aware of its menace."

Following through on his pamphlet's title, "Think and Let Think," the bishop uses both John Wesley and the Declaration of Independence to support freedom of opinion. "It will be a sorry day for the Church and a sorrier day for the nation when majorities refuse to tolerate minorities," he declares. "Thought control is not the Methodist way nor is it the American way. It is the Communist way, the Fascist way."

The "pink fringe" author's literary ethics come in for stern rebuke. Referring to Mr. High's quotation from Bishop Brooks, Bishop Oxnam accuses the author of deliberate misrepresentation of "a scholarly and spiritual leader." "High selects quotations designed to damn rather than to describe. Such journalism," the bishop asserts, "strikes at the very future of democracy."

The leaflet includes a statement by Dr. Ralph E. Diffendorfer, executive secretary emeritus of the Division of Foreign Missions, showing how grossly *The Reader's Digest,* with full knowledge of the facts, distorted its account of the distribution to Methodist pastors of a book about the Soviets.

Single copies of *Think and Let Think* may be obtained by sending 10 cents to Bishop's Office, 150 Fifth Avenue, New York 11, N. Y.; in lots of 100, 7½ cents per copy.

WORLD COMMUNITY DAY

Christian women everywhere will unite on November 3, 1950, to join in prayerful observance of World Community Day, sponsored by the United Council of Church Women. Together they will pray, learn, share, help the most powerful force in the world, love, to create peace out of conflict. They will hear and understand God's command to us: "Love thy neighbor."

Worth Looking Into

The voting records of U. S. Senators and Congressmen in the 81st Congress are being prepared in Washington. These will tabulate the vote in both Houses on major bills of special concern to Christian churchmen and in line with the social pronouncements of the General Assembly. Limited numbers of free copies may be secured from the Division of Social Education and Action, 830 Witherspoon Building, Philadelphia 7, Pa.

Before you vote this month, study the records of your Senators and Representatives and compare their actions with the official position of our Presbyterian Church, U.S.A., as recorded in the social pronouncements of General Assembly. If possible, write or visit your Congressmen while they are in "home territory." Inform them on the stand of our Church, and discuss with them the position you believe they should have taken on critical social and political issues.

Letters Abroad, a division of the World Affairs Council of Philadelphia, has arranged an international correspondence plan to foster world understanding, not on the level of Governments and foreign ministers, but on the level of the individual citizen. Many thousands of people have exchanged letters in the past year and swapped views about their everyday lives and day-to-day problems.

Through the services of Letters Abroad Americans who want to write to foreigners, and foreigners who want to write to Americans, are paired off on the basis of age, occupation, educational background, and general interests. Thus, American architects can exchange ideas with foreign architects, farmers with farmers, engineers with engineers. Letters Abroad also translates letters sent in foreign languages.

A letter from Denmark shows the type of information the average foreigner hopes to gain through the correspondence. "That I wish to know," he wrote in somewhat uncertain English, "is in what manner the man of the street, the business man, is earning his money and in what way he spends it again. I wish to know how he has built his home, what he is doing in the evening, what he talks about and what he is thinking of. You see I like to know about one like to know of a good friend."

To maintain and broaden this international exchange of correspondence, the World Affairs Council of Philadelphia, which is a nonprofit and nonpolitical organization, has the support of the Department of State's "Voice of America," which receives more letters from foreign listeners than it can handle, and of the press and radio throughout Europe and Japan, where most foreign correspondents are.

Because so many people abroad are sincerely anxious to exchange thoughts with Americans and develop friendships across the sea, the World Affairs Council has asked our Division of Social Education and Action to help to find church groups that would enjoy answering the hundreds of letters awaiting reply.

This person-to-person approach to peace should appeal to many in our churches.

It involves no money or material aid, only the price of a postage stamp and a friendly interest in people. Shut-ins and older members of our churches can also work for peace right from their own homes!

An Institute on Alcoholism for pastors and other professional persons was held in Albany last April and sponsored by the New York State Department of Health, Albany Council of Social Agencies, and the Capital District Committee for Education on Alcohol (for which Rev. Kermit L. Lawton is chairman). Speakers were Dr. Milton G. Potter, chairman, New York State Medical Society's Committee on Alcoholism; Dr. I. Jay Brightman, director, Alcohol Section, New York Health Department; Mr. Yvelin Gardner, acting director, National Committee for Education on Alcoholism.

Problems of alcoholism were also explored by a panel of four experts representing industry, the courts, social agencies, and hospitals treating the disease.

Salute to the United Nations. The main banking floor of the Fidelity-Philadelphia Trust Company impressively displayed the flags of the United Nations and historical American flags during the month of October last year. Large display advertisements in local newspapers featured the UN symbol and invited Philadelphians to visit the display. Institutional advertising, we believe, of a very high order and an idea for banking institutions across the country to take into account!

The Mid-century White House Conference on Children and Youth will be held in Washington, D. C., on December 3-7, 1950. Other White House Conferences over the past fifty years have resulted in our most important laws and services for the protection and welfare of children. But the coming Conference will study not only so-called welfare services, but education, health, economic factors, and religion as these influence children and their spiritual, emotional, and mental growth. This Conference has a new focus on "the total child," and is the first to emphasize the spiritual and moral values so basic to individual development. For the first time also young people are taking an active part in conference preparations and business sessions.

An article in the March, 1950, issue of Social Progress described our Church's stake in the Conference and the preliminary work begun a year ago by the Protestant Conference on Child Welfare. It also alerted churchmen to the fact-finding and study which have been carried on in the intervening months by state committees.

Three Boards of our Church are represented on the Advisory Council on Participation of National Organizations. Each Board has prepared a report of its services to children and youth for the national fact-finding committee. The report of the Board of Christian Education stressed our Church's program of leadership training, parent education, and social action, and and our Faith and Life curriculum.

The Division of Social Education and Action is represented on the Advisory Council of National Organizations, and many Presbyterian laymen and ministers have been active in state and county planning committees.

CITIZENSHIP

Under the impact of the Korean war, the second session of the 81st Congress has recessed with somewhat different results than had been expected. There was little opposition to the defense and international measures the President had asked for, but some legislation in line with General Assembly concern still awaits action. A brief legislative summary appears on the next page.

Anti-Communist Legislation: H.R. 9490, now the Internal Security Act of 1950, held the spotlight of the nation when the Senate and House passed the bill over the President's veto, despite an all-night filibuster effort, and courageous opposition of the handful of Republicans and Democrats who voted against it.

A *New York Times* editorial (September 25) points out that "there are certain features of this hodgepodge piece of legislation that will genuinely strengthen the internal security of the U.S. against Communist subversion, such as the provisions for closing loopholes in the espionage, sabotage, and deportation laws and the summary arrest of probable spies in an emergency. These laudable features, which propose to do something practical about existing or potential Communist action as distinct from Communist thought, could and should have been enacted as separate legislation.

"Instead, they were tacked onto other proposals that in our view are unworkable and, in a very real sense, un-American. In its broad prohibitions, its sweeping registration requirements, its narrow-minded immigration and naturalization clauses, the new law represents a long step away from the American tradition of liberty and freedom."

(More detailed analysis of the act will appear in December SOCIAL PROGRESS.)

The measure is now law, and efforts to enforce it soon may reveal its deficiencies. In democratic government, errors of legislation can be corrected, and certainly some modification is to be hoped for when Congress convenes again on November 27 and is in a less hysterical state of mind.

International Affairs: Marshall Plan aid continued with some reduction in funds; $5.8 billion in military aid voted for friendly nations, mostly in Europe; Point Four (aid for underdeveloped areas) authorized, but only token funds voted; loan to Spain of $62.5 million voted but due to be held up by the President; International Children's Fund authorized, but no funds voted; the Genocide Treaty was held up, but may be acted upon when Congress returns after the election.

Defense: About $32 billion already appropriated with probability of $10 billion more in a few months; Selective Service extended for one year; doctor draft approved; anti-Communist control bill requiring registration of Communists, internment in wartime, tightening immigration controls, and providing stiff penalties for spies and saboteurs was enacted over the President's veto; UMT and broadening of Selective Service were held up.

Social Welfare: More liberal social security program voted; $1.5 billion slum clearance and low-cost housing bill passed; separate bills to ban interstate shipment of slot machines were passed, but final action was blocked by a Senate filibuster; a bill designed to rehabilitate rather than punish youthful lawbreakers was passed; aid to education, health insurance, civil rights were held up.

Economic Controls: Authority granted to President to allocate materials, control credit, requisition supplies, fix wage-price ceilings; rent control extended to January 1, or to next June 30, by local option (prior to the emergency). Further action expected when Congress returns.

Financial: Approximately $60 billion voted for 1950–1951; income taxes raised as of October 1, corporation taxes raised as of July 1; excess profits tax to be enacted after Congressional recess.

General: Displaced Persons Act liberalized; National Science Foundation authorized but no funds voted; statehood for Alaska and Hawaii held up, but slated to be "first order of business" in the November session.

Sanctuary

Invocation: Dear Father, within the sanctuary of whose heart there is ever a shelter for all weary and confused minds and burdened hearts, we seek again the counsel and consolation of thine understanding love. We reach past the many things we cannot understand for the hand of the God who understands us. In the midst of life's tumult and strife we would be still and know that thou art God. This day, this hour, give unto us a quiet certainty that behind all darkness there is the radiance of thy glory. Amen.

Confession of Faith and Covenant (*in unison*):

"One is our Master, even Jesus Christ, and all we are brethren. We believe in God, revealed in nature, history, and the Holy Bible, as interpreted in the life and teachings of Jesus Christ, his Son. We believe in the continuous leadership of the Spirit of God and that the guidance of the Spirit of God is sufficient authority for faith and life. We believe in the primacy of character, the principles and spirit of which were manifested in the life of our Master. We believe in using all means of grace which will aid in the realization of God, and inspire in us the mind which was in Christ Jesus. We believe in eternal life, and hope for everlasting growth and blessedness in the eternal home of God.

"Desiring to make our church a shrine of the Spirit of God, a school of Christ, a united fellowship of disciples of Jesus, and an organization to serve the interests of the Kingdom of God in the world, we, therefore, the members of this church do solemnly and sincerely covenant to walk together in unity, love, and well-doing. We pledge our support in every reasonable way to our church. We testify of our love for all persons, and desire to be in fellowship with all disciples of Jesus Christ. We earnestly pray that in essentials we may be united and in all things charitable."

—From a Statement of Faith used by the Couples Club, Madison Avenue Presbyterian Church, Albany, New York.

Hymn:

"Rise Up, O Men of God!"

Litany:

LEADER: "But where shall wisdom be found? And where is the place of understanding?

PEOPLE: *"Man knoweth not the price thereof; Neither is it found in the land of the living.*

LEADER: "The deep saith, It is not in me; And the sea saith, It is not with me.

PEOPLE: *"It cannot be gotten for gold, Neither shall silver be weighed for the price thereof."*

LEADER: "Whence then cometh wisdom? And where is the place of understanding?

PEOPLE: *"Seeing it is hid from the eyes of all living, And kept close from the birds of the heavens. Destruction and Death say, We have heard a rumor thereof with our ears.*

LEADER: "God understandeth the way thereof, And he knoweth the place thereof.

PEOPLE: "*For he looketh to the ends of the earth, And seeth under the whole heaven; To make a weight for the wind: Yea, he meteth out the waters by measure.*

LEADER: "When he made a decree for the rain, And a way for the lightning of the thunder; Then did he see it, and declare it; He established it, yea, and searched it out.

PEOPLE: "*And unto man he said, Behold, the fear of the Lord, that is wisdom; And to depart from evil is understanding.*"

Scripture: Long ago Jesus came to tell us of God's plan for a kingdom of friendly people. He called this kingdom the Kingdom of God. Many people think of it today as the Kingdom of Love. Paul, a follower of Jesus, wrote a letter telling people how they might belong to this Kingdom of Love. Read I Corinthians 13: 1-8, 13; 14: 1.

Prayer: O Saviour of the world, who didst come to bring abundant life to all mankind, we pray thee that all who, here on earth, possess abundance may desire it so keenly for others that unjust conditions may become intolerable to all those who love thee, and that thy followers may, through sharing, become right toward God and just toward all men. Amen.

Meditation:

It has been wisely said that the Christian Church is
the greatest fellowship on earth
undergirded by the greatest power on earth
facing the greatest task on earth.

No other institution in society can claim so great an interpretation of its nature, motivation, and purpose. No other era in Christian history has called upon the Church, as does the present day, for so fearless a discipleship in seeking God's will and its fulfillment. The universality of the social crisis demands an allegiance to a prophetic religion mediated through a prophetic Church.

Our worship must be this—morally. Our gifts must be purposeful. Our prayers must be soul-searching. The Scriptures must be believed and behaved. Fellowship must be inclusive. Service must be remedial. Christian education must be searching, and social action corrective and courageous. Preaching must be for decision.

The Church, as the Body of Christ, is called upon to reveal the centrality of God in the life of man. The living word of the living God never becomes flesh until it becomes flesh in lives of people living it out. We rededicate our lives to a new and vigorous practice of our faith, service to the work of the Christian Church through which the Kingdom of God has been proclaimed for nineteen centuries.

Prayer (*in unison*): Our Infinite Father, we praise thee that thou hast called us to walk together in the ways of Jesus Christ, made known and to be made known. By the ministry of thy Spirit in our hearts, grant that loving and being loved, serving and being served, blessing and being blessed, we may be prepared while we dwell together on earth for the perfect fellowship of the saints above. Amen.

Hymn: "Blest Be the Tie That Binds."

—*Prepared by Rev. William H. McConaghy, Director, Institute on Racial and Cultural Relations, Division of Social Education and Action, Presbyterian Board of Christian Education.*

About Books

The Ramparts We Guard, by R. M. MacIver. The Macmillan Company. $3.00.

This is basically an appeal to attain a more mature understanding of what democracy is and means, presented in a somewhat scholarly fashion by Dr. MacIver, professor of political philosophy and sociology at Columbia University.

The main thesis is that in democracy we have a precious thing, yet we are careless about it, ignorant of it, take no well-considered steps to guard it, and often entertain shallow ideas about it. The author proves his point, and at the same time awakens a heightened appreciation of our heritage. He points out that with all our talk about belief in democracy, we stupidly permit practices that disarm ourselves when we appear before the nations as champions of civil rights. He shows how easily we have betrayed the requirements of democracy. This is also something in the nature of a study in semantics. The author discusses the various terms we confuse with the word "democracy," such as "liberty," "equality," "fraternity."

Democracy makes higher demands on its citizens than any other system, hence actual democracies always lag behind the standards they profess to accept, and their imperfections are often glaring. There are also always strong interests that seek to pervert or corrupt the working of the democratic principle, hence men in a democracy must always be on their guard. The author emphatically believes that all efforts to protect democracy against its dangers are futile unless we can protect it first from the catastrophe of war. The analysis here of Communism is very interesting and informing.

This stimulating book deserves the careful consideration of every citizen and believer in democracy.

—*Gordon W. Mattice.*

Lust for Power, by Joseph Haroutunian. Charles Scribner's Sons. $3.00.

This is a profound and beautifully written book on a metaphysical affliction of modern man—the corruption of the love of power, as a means, into the lust for power, as an end. This corruption, the author believes, arises out of the disparity between, on the one hand, man's finiteness and the infinite powers technological society has put at his disposal and, on the other hand, the eternal destiny of man and his cosmic despair. "This despair turns one's natural love for his being into an abhorrence and a revulsion. It now becomes an irresistible temptation to turn from the void which threatens one's existence, and to preoccupy oneself with goods that are available as well as enjoyable. But such preoccupation is characterized by a lack of measure and proportion. . . . Power itself, which is the means of good and joy, becomes their substitute, and lust for power replaces the love of life itself" (p. 140).

Those who share the temper of the author will be moved by the depth of the argument and delighted by its logic. Those who do not share his temper will be delighted by the logic of the argument and challenged to reply. They may regard the book as an extremely subtle and powerful sermon but may point to a lack of analysis. They may find the author's "Western man" an abstraction rather than a fact and a pattern into which not every one of their acquaintances fits ("Western man has the ego of a god with the destiny of a dog," p. 107). By changing the author's premise from one of civilized pessimism to one of civilized optimism, they may arrive at a very different yet equally valid argument. They may insist that abundance and progress are not in themselves invalid categories and that it is fundamentally wrong to equal the progress and multiplication of machinery with the progress and multiplication of knowledge and morals (pp. 10 ff.), or the abundance of life with that of super markets.

After all, Christ came so that we may live abundantly, and this spiritual abundance is a valid category which no metaphysical paradoxes need to destroy. May it not be that the spiritual is a realm of creativity, and the material abundance of life one side of creativity, which is complementary to spiritual abundance, as is held by Bergson? May not the "scientific method," rightly understood as including spiritual insight, and applied to our emotions and behavior, help us to bring about the unfulfilled side of our existence? Why do we have to become cosmic psychopaths rather than psychiatrists? These and other questions crowd upon one in reading this stimulating book. It is a must for anyone interested in the mystery of man's existence in the infinity of God's universe.

—*Robert Hartman.*

Our English Heritage, by Gerald W. Johnson. J. B. Lippincott Company. $3.50.

This is writing to command the interest of the ordinary reader as well as to delight the taste of the scholar. It is an exceedingly painless way of acquiring some grasp of the main sweep of our history along with some very discerning insights. It is good interpretation, but it is also a good story.

Our English Heritage is the fifth book to appear in The Peoples of America Series edited by Louis Adamic. Its author is a former professor of journalism in the University of North Carolina, and both before and after his professorship a distinguished newspaperman.

Although the English settlers were relatively few in number, the English pattern they established still survives. Both the story of their coming and the persistence of the pattern make good reading. First came the Expendables, vagabonds, rogues, and riffraff of every sort. "Death mowed them down, but others hit the beach, strode over their graves and carried the attack." Next came the Indispensables, mainly poor but industrious rural folk. Finally there were the Gentlemen of Quality divided into "lords spiritual, lords temporal and gentry." In Governor Bradford's policies we see the beginning of the one world idea. William Penn first demonstrates that "the Good Neighbor Policy can be made to pay."

The chapter on "The Language" is a delight. The one on "The Law" is an education in such matters as common law, the corporation, trial by jury, and civil liberty. "The Faith" is a most understanding analysis of the English influence, especially upon Protestantism in America and the separation of Church and State. The incalculable power of the King James Bible over the minds of men is discussed, not under "The Faith," but in connection with "The Language." And this power is waning.

The last chapter, on "The Philosophy," is worth the price of the book. A good case underlies his conclusion that the force which English tradition wields is the power of a story, part history, part poetry, "the struggle of a thousand years through which the common Englishman was transformed from the crook-backed serf who was sold with the land into the labor leader who stands before the King as his Prime Minister and whose will the King cannot gainsay."

—*Herbert N. Brockway.*

Order your copy of GOD AND THE NATIONS, $1.00, paper; $2.00, cloth. Westminster Book Stores.

The Presbyterian Church on U.M.T. and Peacetime Conscription

There is a substantial opinion in the United States that the possession of overwhelming armaments—including conscription and universal military training—is essential to our national security. The issue has been sharpened by the Korean crisis.

In view of the fact that Congress on its return will give top priority to this question, it is important that Christians review the argument.

Dr. Karl T. Compton, chairman of the President's Commission on Universal Military Training, has generously contributed the article in support of universal military training. John M. Swomley, Director of the National Council Against Conscription, has presented the case against it. Neither author was given the opportunity to read what the other had written.

Examination of the problem of international security means the careful reading of these articles and conscientious exploration of other resources. We particularly recommend God and the Nations *for study of the decisions involved in the proposals for peace through military power, and other materials from the Division of Social Education and Action.*

The 1950 pronouncements of the General Assembly reaffirmed the Church's support of the United Nations and co-operative efforts to build a united world, and called upon our nation's leaders to seek by every responsible means an effective international agreement for the immediate cessation of the manufacture of hydrogen bombs and all other weapons of mass destruction. They summoned our nation to take leadership in this urgent matter, and promised to support our Government in the advocacy of the Baruch Plan or any alternate plan that will effect general disarmament.

Pronouncements of other years have expressed the traditional position of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America against universal military training and peacetime conscription. Excerpts are reprinted here:

To prepare to defend ourselves by the very means which awaken suspicion and increase tension, thus hastening the outbreak of another war, in which admittedly there can be no adequate defense, is an evidence of the folly of the 'military science' which is so dominant in this country. Maintenance of a Navy second to none and the adoption of compulsory military training in peacetime would certainly further aggravate the very situation from which we strive to be free." (1946)

"We reaffirm our historic position of opposition to peacetime military conscription as constituting a dangerous extension of regimentation by government, an inadequate measure of defense in an atomic age, and a violation of the spirit of our present determination to secure the multilateral reduction of arms and armies. . . .

"Your Committee therefore recommends:

"1. That General Assembly reaffirm its opposition to the establishment of compulsory military training during peacetime.

"2. That General Assembly reaffirm our historic position in favor of voluntary enlistment to provide the military forces needed for our international commitments and national defense in an atomic age." (1947)

"We believe the most ominous present threat to freedom and the peace of the world lies in the militarization of the nations. The United States, as the leading world power, should take bold steps to reverse such a trend. To date, our national tendency has been to fall in with and to accentuate rather than to retard this trend. . . .

"This attempt to regiment free men, this trend toward military domination of our society, calls for continued reliance upon a democratic voluntary system of national defense. We believe that a system of voluntary recruitment will provide adequate defense if administered by leaders who believe in it. Because of our industrial and military potentialities revealed in the last war, because of our capacity for mobilization, and because of the resources inherent in the voluntary system, we go on record as opposing compulsory military training and the use of the draft in peacetime. We reaffirm the historic position of our Church with respect to peacetime military conscription." (1948)

"It is imperative that the crass militarization of our nation and of the nations of the world be checked now. We believe the multilateral reduction and control of armaments through the United Nations should be vigorously and continuously sought. We reaffirm our opposition to any form of Universal Military Training or Peacetime Conscription. The Presbyterian Church, U. S. A., has consistently supported the democratic system of voluntary recruitment. There is genuine peril that our own defense measures may precipitate the very war we fear, and that our free economy will be crushed beneath the intolerable burden of armaments." (1949)

MILITARY POWER FOR PEACE

By **KARL T. COMPTON**, *chairman of the Corporation, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, and formerly chairman of the President's Commission on Universal Military Training.*

IN SCIENCE, the objective is to assemble and analyze evidence that is so convincing that the conclusions must be accepted by all informed people. There is no room for personal opinion once the facts are adequately assembled. Thus the so-called "laws of science" are as basic as the facts of nature. There is, of course, the realm of uncertainty and hypothesis through which all scientific inquiry passes in the process of establishing a basic principle or law of nature. This area of uncertainty is the field for scientific research.

Mathematics and some of the simpler parts of physics and chemistry are examples of great progress in reaching conclusions that are no longer debatable. More complicated aspects of these subjects, and of such fields as biology and psychology, are examples of scientific endeavor in which there is still room for differences of opinion and judgment regarding the evaluation of the evidence, and for the search for further evidence that may settle the controversial points. But the characteristic feature of scientific work is its disassociation from personal opinion or emotion, and its endeavor to base conclusions on factual evidence so objectively that there is no room for final difference of opinion.

The realm of human affairs, on the other hand, is so vastly more complicated that in only the simplest affairs of life can this purely objective conclusion be reached and be universally accepted, even though the effort be sincerely and intelligently made to achieve it. This is especially true where ethical or religious values are involved, and where human emotions come into play. Reaction to the proposal of universal military training is in this category. With the same set of facts in mind, it is evident that widely different conclusions are reached by different people. No less a person than Woodrow Wilson said:

"We speak of this age as the age when mind is monarch, but I take it for granted that if that is true, mind is one of those monarchs who reigns but does not govern. As a matter of fact, the world is governed in every generation by a great House of Commons made up of the passions; and we can only be careful to see that the handsome passions are in the majority."

Nevertheless, the intelligent person will make the best effort he can to evaluate rationally, rather than emotionally, the circumstances that bear on the decisions he must make and the actions he must take.

With these factors in mind, I have no illusion that my presentation here will convince everyone that my views are correct. I can only hope to explain some of the reasons for my stand on the subject under discussion, and hope that this analysis may be helpful to some others.

A Christian Must Choose

First let me state certain facts that seem to me to be almost self-evident, and which bear upon our conclusions regarding universal military training. One such fact is that we often have to face alternatives, none of which is pleasant or right, but some choice must be made even if one alternative be to do nothing and take the consequences. One difficulty here is that even the Christian religion does not always point the clear way. For example, "Thou shalt not kill"; but what of a situation where a policeman sees a desperado at the point of murdering a mother and her children, and has no time to intervene except by shooting the desperado? The same problem is posed in more complicated circumstances when an aggressor nation attacks a neighbor nation for purposes of domination and control.

Is War Ever Justified?

Another fact is that universal military training is not a basic issue, but becomes an issue only after several more fundamental issues are faced. One such issue is the question: "Is there anything worth fighting for?" or, "Is war ever justified?"

The answers are a matter of moral judgment. For my own part, I would fight to prevent the raping of a loved one—and I hope that my Christian principles would make me react similarly even if the person attacked were not of my circle of family and friends. The majority of people of our race have struggled for generations, through violence and war as well as through other means, to achieve certain rights of individual freedom and popular government. Most of us would not lightly surrender these rights and permit the undoing of generations of human progress.

In brief, we would put freedom ahead of peace as a basic objective. If the issue is not immediately before us, but is before some other nation like South Korea at the present time, then we face a decision that is twofold: First, the practical question, "Is the ultimate threat to us sufficiently serious to justify our intervention through self-interest?" and, secondly, the moral question, "Do we have a duty to come to the defense of another nation that is unjustly and cruelly attacked?"

If one's answer to these questions is the sincere conviction that any alternative whatever is preferable to war, then for that person the argument might seem to be closed, but it is not. Whatever this individual and a group like him may feel about the questions posed above, there is still the unhappy reality that war may come anyhow. There is partial truth in the saying, "It takes two to make a fight." A more accurate statement, and one more pertinent to the situation, would be, "It takes two to make a peace." Thus the possibility must be faced that the individual who believes that war is the worst of all evils may still have to become engaged in it, along with all his fellow citizens.

The Case for U.M.T.

The answer made by the majority of our people to the question of whether war is ever justified is not made in the abstract, but is made as specific situations and types of situations arise. I believe the past and present evidence to be overwhelming that the American people will fight, if necessary, under circumstances of extreme threat or attack upon their own freedom and safety, or upon the moral standards which they hold most precious. Thus the actual problem is not what we would wish were the case, but what we should do under the circumstances. Here there are several alternatives also, before we reach the question of universal military training.

First, there is a group with sincere religious convictions against war or any participation in its preparation or conduct. These religious convictions are respected, even in time of war, by allowing such persons to substitute some form of national service that is as far as possible removed from military activity.

Preparedness Vs. Unpreparedness

A second alternative is to do nothing, or as little as possible, toward being ready for a war emergency promptly and effectively, even though every effort is simultaneously made to avoid war. The first alternative, while justifying a certain measure of respect, cannot be considered as having much effect on national policy although it may have dominating effect on those individuals who subscribe sincerely to it. The practical choice facing the country is, therefore, that between a policy of unpreparedness or a policy of preparedness. Here there are some factors that can be stated with certainty; other factors can only be weighed pro and con. In the final analysis it is the over-all judgment of the people and their elected leaders which will set the program. Let me mention a few of these factors.

It is certainly a fact that enormous sacrifice of life and property occur, and danger that defeat may render even these sacrifices futile, when a nation is caught in war unprepared. It is certainly true that modern methods of warfare combine to make unpreparedness more dangerous—this because the attack will be more sudden and devastating and because the highly technical nature of modern warfare requires a long time for production of its instrumentalities and lengthy training in their use. The slogan that a million men will spring to the defense may have had some meaning many years ago; it has no significance now except as an emotional trick of oratory. Over against the moral issue of war itself is the moral responsibility of permitting unnecessary slaughter and possible loss of those values which we cherish as the "American way of life," if we permit ourselves to be caught in war unprepared.

Among the more uncertain factors is the extent to which preparedness for defense increases or decreases the probability of becoming involved in war. The records of the two world wars are conclusive that, whatever else may have been contributing factors, the final decisive factor was the belief of Germany that its aggressive ambitions could be carried through successfully because of conviction that the democratic nations and the intended victims were physically and spiritually incapable of putting up a successful resistance.

Another uncertain factor, especially important at present, is the extent to which the nations opposed to the continued expansion of Soviet domination might defeat themselves economically through their programs of military preparedness. As to the threat of Soviet domination there is no uncertainty: it is evident from a great mass of circumstantial evidence as well as from the clearly expressed statements of purpose from Karl Marx to Stalin—just as clearly as was Hitler's objective stated in *Mein Kampf*. It is in these uncertain areas that intelligence and judgment are needed to find the most advantageous evaluation and course of action. I believe it is clear that the predominant judgment of the American people is in favor of adequate preparations for defense in the present world situation.

A Civilian Commission Studies the Case

It was in the light of all these considerations that the civilian commission, appointed by the President in November, 1946, to advise him in the matter of universal training, addressed itself first to such basic questions as those discussed above. Its judgment was that, except as a measure for national security, universal training was not advisable. It then went on to examine into the need for strengthening of our national security, and concluded that the need existed, and was urgent. In attempting to determine the directions in which our national security should be strengthened it made an analysis of the various ways in which our nation might become involved in war, what the nature of war might be in each situation, and what would be the requirements for maximum success and minimum loss. Incidentally, one of the situations that were analyzed was exactly that which has now developed in Korea, although that country was not mentioned specifically.

This commission was composed of two churchmen, two practicing lawyers, two educators, a former diplomat, an industrialist, and an industrial relations counselor. It unanimously recommended universal training in peacetime, as one essential part of an integrated national security program including a number of complementary factors, no one of which was in itself adequate but which taken together formed the basis of an adequate program. It recommended that the universal training program be established with careful attention to moral and religious environment and character development, and that it be continued until some later re-evaluation of the world and national situation should indicate that it is no longer needed.

I shall not attempt here to recapitulate the details of the plan. They have been widely discussed and are available for study and reference. In closing, however, I should like to make the following comments:

If the plan had been put promptly into operation, we and the United Nations would now be in a far less critical situation. We could have reacted far more promptly and effectively against the aggression in Korea. It may be argued, though not proved, that the Korean aggression would never have occurred—and this goes also for other directions of possible future aggression whose possibility we can envisage. For it seems clear that no nation will undertake a military aggression if it believes that the forces that will oppose it are strong enough to render the attempt unsuccessful and disastrous. Here I believe that those who have opposed universal military training, however sincere may have been their reasons, have much to answer for.

Secondly, I can understand sincere differences of opinion on this subject, but I have neither sympathy nor respect for the tactics that were employed by some to defeat the proposal by using the epithets "conscription" or "undemocratic." These are rabble-rousing tactics aimed at arousing emotions, rather than honest attempts to face and evaluate the issues. The same tactics and epithets were used in the middle of the last century in the attempt to defeat the project for universal education. Furthermore, we do, by democratic processes, conscript wealth by taxes. We conscript soldiers in time of war. We conscript citizens locally to fight fires or floods or other dangers of disaster. When our society, for its own protection and welfare, demands services of its citizens, and does this through procedures established by the people themselves, such procedures are not "undemocratic," they are examples of democracy at work.

Authorize U.M.T. Now

Finally, there is the question as to whether universal military training should be authorized now by law, or whether decision on this question should be postponed until we are again at peace. I am no longer in close contact with the Department of Defense, but I suspect that we may not have the facilities of physical equipment and training personnel available for operating a universal military training program now while our resources are occupied in meeting the emergency in Korea. Nevertheless, the argument seems to me to be overwhelmingly in favor of authorizing such a program with the least possible delay, with provision that it be put into effect when conditions make this possible. The reasons for so proceeding are several, of which I would mention only the following:

Danger of Aggression Still Looms

The end of the Korean war, when it comes, will almost certainly not be the end of further danger of war. Those nations from which danger of war stems have seen us fold up our military strength precipitately as soon as we have finished a war. World Wars I and II are vivid examples. This action testifies nicely to our lack of aggressive intent, and not so nicely to our stamina to see through to conclusion the objectives for which we have fought, once the immediate danger was past.

We do not need this kind of proof that we have no aggressive intentions or imperialistic ambitions. Our treatment of China after the Boxer rebellion, our freeing of Cuba and the Philippines after helping them to establish a program of self-government, are evidence on this point far more convincing than words or propaganda claims. But we do desperately need to establish an adequate basis for security, and to convince our friends and our possible enemies that we are determined to support effectively our own security and the international effort of the United Nations to prevent war by friendly co-operation if possible and to discourage war by force if necessary.

"SHALL THEY LEARN WAR"?

By **JOHN M. SWOMLEY, JR.**, *Director of the National Council Against Conscription.*

IN DEBATING the pros and cons of universal military training, the danger is that we become completely engrossed with the mechanical details of such a program. Should boys be drafted at eighteen or at twenty? Should training be for six months or for two years? Will a "next war" be fought with mass armies or push buttons?

These are important questions, ones into which we can sink our teeth, but they are not *the* question. That question is, Shall America succumb to the fatal infection of militarism that is sweeping the world?

For, let us make no mistake, if the United States now adopts the kind of compulsory military training Americans so abhorred in Hitler's Germany, Mussolini's Italy, and Stalin's Russia, the end of our traditional civilian control over the military is near. Six months of training or two years—the primary aim is not preparation for combat but indoctrination with the "military mind." Conscripted at 18 or at 20—or soon perhaps at 16!—the indoctrination comes early, during the formative years of a man's life, and the infection will spread rapidly through our whole national life.

And the results of this spreading infection? They will be far more than military preferment, the arrogance of the uniformed leader, the increasingly heavy burdens of taxation to meet military budgets.

We have seen in recent months what are the characteristics of the mind infected with militarism. It is a mind that suppresses free speech for persons whom it considers to be "subversive," and a subversive soon may become anyone who does not agree with the military mind. It conceives its task as pre-eminently one of preparing for the "next war," and all other considerations must be subservient to that task. Its highest virtue is unquestioning obedience to orders; its ultimate faith is in the sword; it regards as "weak and unpatriotic" attempts at compromise and conciliation.

It has always been true that the art and culture of man flourish best where man is free, and that the search for truth that distinguishes man at his best cannot be carried on in a militarily controlled society. But in our day something more is also true: unless our generation finds a way of doing away with war, completely, we are very likely to wipe out humanity itself. It is bad enough that we seem to be able to find no answer to international tension but increased arms and armaments: if we now permit the whole nation to be brought into conformity with the military approach, the hope for peace will be dimmed almost to extinction.

Yet, though all this has been plain to see, since World War II the American people have been subjected by every trick of the trade to a costly and misleading propaganda barrage for universal military training. The Pentagon has hired speakers and writers, sent personnel to work on heads of civilian organizations, set up a costly model U.M.T. unit at Fort Knox, Kentucky, and persuaded the President to appoint an "impartial" commission of men largely friendly to U.M.T., whose secretary was lent by the Pentagon. It went so far that a Congressional investigating committee had to ask the Attorney General to stop the Army's numerous illegal propaganda activities on behalf of U.M.T.

OUT of this welter of propaganda the Army's case has emerged. Let's look at its details in the light of the Korean war, the developing international situation, and its effect on our national welfare.

U.M.T. is not a temporary or war emergency measure. The present selective service law gives the Army all the power it needs to draft men or call up reserves for the Korean war. U.M.T. is intended to be a permanent conscription law on the European pattern of giving military training to each boy as he reaches a certain age.

Both the President and Secretary of Defense have stated publicly that if U.M.T. were enacted into law, its operation would have to be postponed until the end of the Korean crisis. It was proposed during the crisis because, in the words of the *Pittsburgh Post-Gazette*, "the chances of winning approval of a U.M.T. program are better now, while the country is emotionally keyed up over war in Korea."

U.M.T. will not "prevent war." It has not prevented war in the past. Both Japan and Russia had compulsory military training in peacetime prior to the Russo-Japanese War. Germany and France, Russia, Italy, and other European powers involved in the First World War had had compulsory military training in peacetime prior to the war. Prior to the Second World War, Japan, Germany, Italy, France, Poland, Russia, and numerous other countries had a system of compulsory military training.

NOR would U.M.T. have prevented tension and the war in Korea. Paul H. Griffith, a former National Commander of the American Legion, speaking as Assistant Secretary of Defense, said in August, 1950, "We are without assurance that maintenance of 100 divisions in continental United States would have deterred the invasion of Korea."[1]

On the contrary, U.M.T. is more likely to precipitate war. If, on top of the more than $30 billions now being spent on rearmament, the plans for a three-million-man military force and the mobilization of industry that is taking place, the United States should, through universal military training or service, put every boy at the age of eighteen into uniform for a period of years, Russia could hardly be expected to believe that it was a peace gesture. Such a move would give substance in the Russian imagination to the talk of preventive war which has come recently from high civilians as well as high military officials of our Government. Moreover, in such a state of military mobilization, what would prevent those of our military leaders who believe in preventive war from precipitating it? They have misrepresented and misled the American people in other ways, viz., their false propaganda on U.M.T. as revealed by the Harness Congressional investigating committee, chiefly because they believed they knew what was best for the nation.

Suppose they believed an incident and war to be the best course for the nation. Could Congress stop them, or would Congress have to back them up once such a war were begun?

U.M.T. would not prevent casualties. A group of twenty-six historians in 1948 in a public statement said: "This argument that peacetime training would have reduced casualty lists in American wars might serve the useful purpose of diverting attention from the real causes of casualty lists, but it cannot be supported by historical arguments. . . . Men have died from poor supplies which the trained and experienced professionals should have maintained; they have died from disease and poor medical care, and they have died most of all from the bad judgment of commanders whose training has conformed to the highest military standards. They have not died because they were themselves untrained."

The Korean war points this up. In the attack on Seoul, the Marines, who had even better training than the Regular Army troops, nevertheless suffered more casualties. A September 30 United Press dispatch from Seoul stated: "There is some criticism of the 'hell for leather' way the Marine commanders led the campaign. These critical circles insist that the fighting was unnecessarily bloody." Another United Press dispatch from Seoul on September 30 gave still another reason for the excessive casualties:

"Army and Marine commanders who liberated Seoul contended today it could have been taken without the heavy loss in lives and property paid for its capture. . . . One Army commander said the United States attack accomplished absolutely nothing of military value.

"Marine commanders, whose troops suffered the heaviest casualties, contended the city could have been surrounded and cut off with a minimum of casualties with accomplishment of the same objectives—the cutting off North Korean supply and communications routes in and out of the city.

". . . The officers interviewed appeared to agree that it would have taken longer to capture Seoul if it had been surrounded and left to die on the vine. 'That's why we had to take it at all costs,' a lieutenant colonel said. 'A triumphal entry into the city was needed as soon as possible, and we gave it to them, but it cost us and the Koreans plenty.' "

The great number of casualties in Korea occurred because the Army did not heed the warning of the Central Intelligence Agency issued two weeks before the attack, and because of other mistakes of the professional Army men. For example, General Jacob Devers writes: "We knew that the Russians had all these tanks in Northern Korea. We knew they couldn't be stopped with any infantry."[2] Yet the Army used infantry in the early months of war.

The contention that the absence of U.M.T. caused casualties is wishful thinking, and a coverup for the mistakes of the generals. U.M.T. boys, if sent to Korea, would have been greener than the Regular Army men who suffered heavy casualties, and who were also unprepared. The fact is, as Chief of Staff General Collins stated, "Where does one find combat-trained troops in peacetime?"[3]

NEITHER *U.M.T. nor Universal Service is needed in peacetime for modern war.* Some proponents have argued that since the atomic bomb and other modern weapons were not used in Korea, war will be fought as it has been in the past, by masses of men. Chief of Staff General Collins' recent warning has a bearing on this. When asked, "Is Korea a preview of modern war," he replied: "The reverse is true. Korea is a reversion to old style fighting and we must be careful lest it alter our concepts of the future."

There is a tendency for many to argue that because Russia has millions of men in its Army we should try to match it. If the outcome of the present political conflict or any future military conflict with Russia were to depend upon which side had the largest number of foot soldiers, the United States would be certain to lose. It would be an impossible task to try to match Russia's man power by adopting U.M.T. Russia and its allies could always double or treble the number the United States and its allies could put in uniform.

Certainly nothing is to be gained

by pouring our resources into huge peacetime armies that may never be used. The trend in modern war is increasingly in the direction of fewer combat soldiers and more workers and suppliers to fill their needs. For example, General Marshall reported on June 30, 1945, that out of 14 million in the armed forces during World War II only 1,500,000 were combat troops. These required some 66,000,000 civilian workers to supply their needs. The ratio of soldiers to suppliers was 7 to 33, and of combat soldiers to suppliers was 1 to 44. If another war should come, the great majority would be kept at essential civilian tasks on the farms and in the factories. U.M.T. would not help them with those tasks.

Moreover, even if as many men should be used in a future war as in the last, they would not all need to be under military command at the outbreak of any particular war. As Hanson Baldwin pointed out: "Attack can come to the United States, and we can attack any enemy, only through the air or by sea. In the initial phases of any war of any nature using any weapons, what is of primary and fundamental importance is, therefore, control of the air and the sea. Emphasis should be on insular strategy as opposed to continental strategy, on air-sea strategy as opposed to mass army strategy."

The experience of the past and the experience in Korea is that men can be procured and trained faster than they can be equipped.

Under U.M.T. there would be two separate armies—the Regular establishment and the U.M.T. boys. As proposed, there would be different standards, different pay, and different discipline with what Hanson Baldwin describes as "obvious deleterious effects upon morale and administration."

Furthermore, many men in one Army would be training those in the other. Hanson Baldwin, in comment on this, says:

"A training cycle of six months' duration would require so large a number of instructors and trainers who would otherwise be eligible for duty in active combat type units that the 'readiness potential' of the Regular Army would be decreased rather than increased by U.M.T." [4]

One of the alleged purposes of U.M.T. is to supply the Reserve forces with boys who have had some training. However, in reality the National Guard and Reserves have been able to recruit more volunteers than the Regular military services were willing to have money appropriated for. Here is the Army's strange plea for a law that would compel boys to enter the Reserves, when the Army financial policy at various times since the war has compelled the Guard and Reserves to turn down volunteers.

If there were a problem of getting men into the Reserves, half-trained

U.M.T. boys would not be the answer. Hanson Baldwin once suggested that the National Guard and Organized Reserves could "be fed by men who had served a regular hitch or served a tour of active duty with the Regulars. Enlistments would be on a sliding six-year scale—three years in the Regular Army and three in the National Guard, or one in the Regular Army and five in the National Guard, for example." [5]

U.M.T. is an entering wedge for a long-term military service. The proposed six months' training program, as Hanson Baldwin asserts, "was devised as a politically palatable measure rather than as a realistic military one." What the military has wanted all along is a law requiring at least two or three years of military service of every boy, as military spokesmen have said.

The original U.M.T. proposals, therefore, have been changed to provide six months' plus a period of three to five years' additional regular or reserve service.

More recently, the military, as a result of the Korean war, have grown so hopeful of achieving their real goal that General Hershey openly is asking a compulsory service law and a Senate committee is reported in the press as ready to recommend such a law.

MANY *of the Army's arguments for U.M.T. are now obviously outmoded.* Originally it was asserted that if we didn't have U.M.T. we would need a large standing Army. Today the military asks both U.M.T. and a large standing Army. Claims that it would improve the nation's health or morals have long since been abandoned as false.

As for education in democracy, U.M.T. will mean an early initiation into the caste system, with every boy one grade or rank higher or lower than others. There is more real education and real democracy in America's schools and colleges from which the boys will be taken. Moreover, one of the results of U.M.T., according to the Compton Commission Report, is that it would teach boys "to think like soldiers and to develop habit responses to situations that will save lives in the event of war."

The training of boys at an impressionable age to think like soldiers and to develop habit responses to the commands of superior authority is not the kind of training that develops free and democratic citizens. The American ideal is the self-reliant man, capable of making his own decisions and standing by them, alone if necessary, against the whole world. The military ideal is the human automaton, unthinking, willing to kill or be killed as his superior officer orders. It would be sheer folly to adopt as a permanent policy in America the system of regimentation in vogue in Russia, in an effort to free the world from the Russian system.

The estimated over-all direct cost of three to four billion dollars a year for U.M.T. is so great that, added to all the other huge military expenses, it would result in reduced social services, higher taxes, and higher prices, so that many parents could not adequately feed and provide medical services for their children during their growing years.

THE passage of a U.M.T. law would be a further step in the direction of the all-too-prevalent idea that the problems that exist between Russia and America must eventually be solved by force. The proponents of U.M.T., with one or two notable exceptions, espouse this philosophy and have done nothing toward encouraging world disarmament. They do not work to persuade the United States to abandon its support of colonialism, nor to use surplus grains to feed the millions of famine-stricken Chinese, nor to put its wealth and influence into lifting the standard of living of the masses of poor people throughout the world. Instead of trying to oppose Communism in the only effective way—by adopting policies that will win the masses of the world away from Communism—they advocate pouring wealth into armaments to defend the *status quo.*

The hope of the future lies in persistent efforts to find a basis for disarmament other than the positions which the Russians and Americans have maintained for the past several years. Until such efforts are made in good faith, proponents of U.M.T. are guilty not only of militarism but of preparing for a war they will not try to prevent.

Christians especially, because of the value we place on personality and the allegiance we give to the Prince of Peace, should not easily give our sons to those who want to make war training a normal part of every boy's life. We must work instead to free ourselves and all men everywhere from the war system of which conscription is an integral part.

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[1] *Army-Navy Air Force Journal,* August 12, 1950.
[2] *The United States News,* July 12, 1950.
[3] *Combat Forces Journal,* October, 1950.
[4] *The New York Times,* August 18, 1950.
[5] *Harper's Magazine,* May, 1946.

Plan now for the observance of Church and Economic Life Week, January 14-20. Read January *Social Progress* for new and pertinent material stressing the Christian approach to economic issues and problems in both church and community programs.

An App

“MAKE MY BUSINESS IMPOSSIBLE”

I AM afraid it is much too late for us to stop,” was the way the young lieutenant expressed his eagerness, as well as his concern, when I responded to his knock at the door. But even midnight is not too late for a visit with a friend, especially when he is also the son of a friend.

A few years before in the days of peace, this young man, with his brothers and parents, was part of the heart of all the good that coursed through the life of the church we then served. The war brought us together again in El Paso, where he took his antiaircraft training. This training had been suddenly interrupted by his transfer to the infantry, and he and his wife were moved to another post. Now they were under orders en route to California for the completion of his training before joining the fight in the Pacific. Tonight he was offering us a few of the precious minutes of the brief days that remained of his life.

The fleeting midnight visit was full of understanding deeper than words. Here were two young parents striving intensely not to lose each other or their child in the violence swirling about them. Theirs was a mute, desperate, losing struggle against the numbing anxiety that pressed upon them.

At one point the conversation turned to training with the infantry. The soldier began his appraisal of it, saying emphatically, deliberately, “It’s dirty business.” Twice again he turned from his child to speak of his recent training with an intensity meant to make me remember something he could never forget: “This is dirty business.” He recoiled with deepest revulsion of soul from the task required of him. His home and his church had not prepared him for such business.

The parents and child had to hurry on that very night—for war and death don’t wait. In an incredibly short time after that, word came that the young lieutenant had been killed in action in the Battle of the Bulge.

The lament of Esdras lodged in my soul: “For the world hath lost its youth, and the times begin to wax old.”

Christians must respond now with renewed devotion to their faith that the command General Haig laid upon the Church at the close of the First World War be fulfilled, when he declared: “It is the business of the Church to make my business impossible.”

Thirty years later, General Marshall estimated that in 1951 the “General’s Business” must cost the United States $55 billion—and draft all our sons.

to Faith

DANGEROUS ROAD AHEAD

Congress is now giving most favorable consideration to a major step toward a garrison state in the pursuit of overwhelming armaments. Universal military service may be our lot before spring. Study of the question and responsible action will have to be taken by the Church at once if its influence is to be exerted. It will be tragic if we, a sovereign people, come under the dominion of fear and return to the material and spiritual desolations that mark the course and the end of "realism."

Before we pass the "point of no return" down the road traveled these last years, let us measure the progress we have made toward the goal of a brotherly, humane society: Has the policy of containment brought peace with honor nearer? Has the cold war encouraged the enjoyment of human rights and freedom at home and extended them abroad? Has the cold war won for us a more secure place in the confidence of the people of Europe, of the Near East and the Far East? Has the announcement of the construction of the H-bomb as the "next logical step," the burdensome increase of taxes, the conscription of our sons, strengthened our own confidence or the world's expectation of peace? Is our best hope of settlement with Russia Senator Capehart's "future of unlimited militarism," a generation of tension projected by military and some political leaders, which Secretary of State Dean Acheson calls upon us to face with "steady—very steady nerves"?

World affairs confront us with difficult choices. But our decisions are often hopelessly and needlessly confused by unwillingness to say the word or do the deed that is unmistakably the word and the deed of love. Because of ignorance, some may misunderstand certain problems; but even the primitive can distinguish between the act of faith and the act of fear, the word of hope and the word of despair, the deed of love and the deed of hatred. For the man of faith, there is "a more excellent way." And he who takes it is strengthened by the approval of the Holy Spirit—he is at peace with his soul. The sure word of God in the Scriptures, reaching its fulfillment in Christ's teaching, also sustains him on his way. But let there be no mistake about it—it is also a way of costliness and sacrifice, requiring that life and treasure be poured out in bold obedience to the command, "Thou shalt love . . ." In both the pursuit and the fulfillment of that way is peace.

—Paul Newton Poling.

CHINA—DR. JOHN MACKAY MAKES PLAIN HIS STAND

The president of Princeton Theological Seminary speaks his mind on China to The New York Times. *Portions of the letter below appeared in the "Letters to the Editor" column of August 28, 1950.*

The *New York Times* of August 5, which has just reached me in the Canadian Northwest, contains a United Press dispatch in which reference is made to an address given by me on August 4 at a church gathering in Minnesota. As the dispatch in question gives a misleading impression of the position that I hold on the China problem, I beg your permission to make my viewpoint plain on this important issue.

The conviction with which I returned from East Asia last December has remained unalterable. Much as we may dislike Communism and deprecate the course of events in China, it is the path of political wisdom to give formal recognition to the new Government in that country. At a representative meeting of Church leaders in New York on December 27, I tried to make my viewpoint clear. I advocated then, as I advocate now, not the appeasement of Russian imperialism, still less the approval of international Communism, but rather the intelligent and sympathetic understanding of a national situation. As the expression of my opinion, when reported in the press, caused some surprise at the time, it seems to me proper, for the sake of those to whom my viewpoint may be of interest or give concern, to state succinctly why I believed then, and continue to believe now, that our Government should recognize the Government of Peiping.

These are the main considerations which, following my visit to the Orient in the fall of last year, led me to form this judgment:

First, because the Government of Peiping is the only Government that controls that vast Asiatic area traditionally called China and because it will continue to control China for a very long time to come, political precedent as well as international expediency* dictates at least a *de facto* recognition of the Government in power.

Factors Involved

Secondly, the temperament of the Chinese people, the traditional family structure of Chinese society, some very special features in the political philosophy of the Chinese Communist leader Mao Tse-tung, whereby he rejects collectivization on the Russian model and gives good and regular standing in the new social order in China not only to workmen and peasants but also to the petite and national bourgeoisie—all point to the reasonable probability that the resultant social and political order in China will be something quite different from Leninism and Stalinism.

Thirdly, there is abundant evidence that Russia, aware of China's intense nationalism and equally aware of the traditional Chinese attitude toward intrusive foreigners, is proceeding very warily with China. That being so, unremitting and intelligent effort should be made to woo the Chinese Government and people from the dominant and now exclusive influence of Russia.

Any attempt on the part of the United States to impose upon China the Nationalist Government of Formosa, which for one reason or another has definitely forfeited the confidence of the Chinese people, would do irreparable harm to Sino-American relations. Any policy which, by ostracizing the only effective Government that China has, continued to make the internal economy and the external relations of China more difficult than they now are would toss China irrevocably into the arms of Russia and cause a permanent estrangement between China and the United States.

Fourthly, there is in China a very considerable Christian community, whose leaders have pledged themselves to remain loyal to the Christian religion and to seek, at the same time, the best interests of the Chinese people. Every effort should be made to promote the most intimate possible contact between Christians in China and Christians in other parts of the world.

While restrictions have undoubtedly been placed in some parts of China more than in others upon certain important aspects of religious freedom, this should be borne in mind: Communists in China, despite their Marxism, have no natural quarrel with the Christian religion, as Communists in Russia had good reason to have. In China the Christian religion, so far from being an "opiate of the people," has been one of the most fruitful and creative influences in China in the personal, social, and cultural spheres.

Effect of Aggression

But now a new and sinister factor has been introduced into the problem of our relationship with China. In what way does Communist aggression in Korea affect the recognition of Communist China? Two things are clear: neither a violation of international order nor a bludgeoning, blackmailing policy on Russia's part should be made either the cause or the occasion for recognizing the Peiping Government.

Because of the new complications in the political situation, it may indeed be advisable, and even necessary, to postpone such recognition. At the same time the basic reasons for recognizing the actual Government of China are more cogent than ever.

Because these reasons remain unchanged, it becomes a supreme task of American statesmanship to find an appropriate way and a convenient hour to make this recognition effective.

As regards the present tragedy on the Korean peninsula, one ventures to envisage this hope. May it not be that the determination of the United Nations not to tolerate military violence as an instrument of political aspiration shall in the end exert a beneficent influence upon those countries which have looked to Russia for support? Will they not have ground to conclude that the Soviet Union, in the hour of a satellite's need, will prove a "broken reed" and a fickle friend? However that may be, of this there can be no doubt: Marxist Communism in Russia, as elsewhere, will be wrecked eventually upon the bedrock of human nature.

In the meantime, the rulers of the Kremlin, in common with all Titans past and present, have a rendezvous with an inexorable moral order.

—*John A. Mackay, D.D.*

* Ed. Note: George E. Sokolsky, in his column September 13, 1950, wrote of "international expediency" and of Dr. Mackay's statement that "the rejection of moral attitudes by our leaders and the substitution therefore of improvisations based on expediency have reduced our international leadership to its present state of bankruptcy." Mr. Sokolsky made the egregious mistake of attacking the statement and Dr. Mackay for a "rejection of moral attitudes," because he did not understand the precise meaning of "expediency" as correctly used by Dr. Mackay. "Expediency" means, first of all, "fitness," or "practical efficiency." Had Mr. Sokolsky known Dr. Mackay, his ignorance of the exact meaning of a word not have misled him into charging Dr. Mackay with either lacking or advising against a "moral response to obligation." Dr. Mackay said exactly what he meant, and is one of the last of men who would find it expedient to do evil. But it is good to see Mr. Sokolsky so concerned for such matters—may he prove faithful!

Christians Help Disabled D.P.'s

More than 660 handicapped Displaced Persons and their families will be helped to resettle in normal productive lives in America, following agreements signed recently by the International Refugee Organization with two U.S. Protestant relief agencies.

Arrangements made by the United Nations specialized agency with Church World Service and the National Lutheran Council will set in motion a plan whereby each agency will sponsor and resettle 330 handicapped D.P.'s and their families.

—Church World Service, Inc.

GOD MOVES IN COMMUNIST CHINA

By **HENRY D. JONES**, *Presbyterian missionary on furlough.*

Mr. Jones was sent to China by The Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A. as the first missionary industrial chaplain. He is working with the Church of Christ in China, a union of fourteen Protestant mission churches now under Chinese leadership.

On that memorable day in May, 1949, when the People's Liberation Army marched quietly into Shanghai, a young Chinese friend of mine stopped me in the street and whispered, "They will be talking Chinese in Moscow in a few years."

And when people ask me today what I think about the future of the Christian Church in China, I have an assertion of faith to make. I have confidence in the age-old middle way of the Chinese people. I have faith in the men and women who are members of the Christian Church of China.

When a Chinese man has accepted Christianity as the philosophy and dynamic of his life, he knows that it must permeate all parts of life—his business, his work relationships, his politics, as well as his home and personal life. If he does not find ways for this full expression, he is dissatisfied with his faith. For him there can be no such false divisions as we have heard expounded in other parts of the world: "Preacher, keep out of business, just preach the Bible." "Religion and politics don't mix."

Let me tell you what this quality of faith has meant in the industrial evangelism in China.

In May of this year I was in Tientsin, large industrial port city of North China, eighteen months after the People's Government had moved in. I visited the factory of the Oriental Rug Company in that city. The president of the firm is a Christian who has tried to live his Christianity not only at home but also in every relationship with his employees. There has been a well-developed program of Christian work within the factory for fathers, mothers, and children. When the People's Government came and the labor union took a more active part in the management of all enterprises and institutions, there was much concern and speculation as to what would happen to the program in the Oriental Rug Company. Our visit eighteen months after the change-over cleared away our doubt: On the wall of the factory in the center of the courtyard where most of the workers could see it throughout the day was this quotation from the Scriptures: "All things whatsoever ye would that men should do unto you, even so do ye also unto them." The workers had decided that this was their purpose by whatever name they were called.

In the city of Kashing, south of Shanghai, there is a great modern paper factory. Within the walls of this factory compound lies a whole community—not only the machines but also the homes of the families of all the workers, the school for the children, the playgrounds, the hospital. When this huge plant was built a Christian woman was hired as one of the schoolteachers. Soon she became the principal of the school. She was interested in more than her job—she was interested in people. Soon she headed the social service work of the factory as well as the school. She also had presented her Christ to the families she worked with.

One day this amazing woman asked the manager-owner, a non-Christian, whether the dozen Christian families within the compound could have the use of a building to hold evangelistic services to which all could be invited. "If making people Christian will make them more like the Christians within our workers group," he replied, "I am glad to do anything I can." Every Saturday night the local Church of Christ in China held evangelistic services within the factory compound. Later a church was formed within the factory and a building was built and assigned to the workers for church services. Time passed and many changes followed. The Christian teacher died, the old manager went away, the Government changed. The church group, anticipating that they might not be allowed later to hold their services within the factory, decided that this was the time for them to do what they should have done before—carry their Christian witness to others. They bought a piece of land just outside the factory gate and built a church there, convenient for the Christians within the factory, but now also accessible to those outside.

At the close of the Japanese war some twenty-five factories were turned over by the Alien Property Committee to the Ministry of Industries of the Chinese Government. Earlier these had been grabbed by freebooters who operated them for personal profit and not for the good of the people of China. The Minister of Industries knew there was only one way to get honest management—to put a man of both personal and social integrity in charge. He chose S. P. Lee, a University of Michigan graduate and a true Christian. After considering the matter, Mr. Lee agreed to accept this responsibility only with these stipulations:

"First, I shall need the right to choose competent and trustworthy men as the leaders in all the factories. I want to be able to place Christian men who are competent in their vocations. Secondly, I must have a school for the training of young men in vocational education, and also in Christianity, for it is not enough to know how to use God's laws without knowing God and being responsible to him."

When Mr. Lee took over the plants, there were just six Christians who could be gathered together to pray for God's guidance on this industrial venture. In two years' time, there were over six hundred who gathered monthly in prayer groups to pray for others to come to know God and for God's guidance in the tasks of industry.

Thus Christianity is at work in some of the larger industrial enterprises of China; and it is important that we realize there is such industrial development in the country which is often thought to be largely agricultural. But most of the manufacturing there is centered not in large-scale industry but in small home industries. Wuhu, for example, is an important rice shipping town on the Yangtze River. Most of the cloth used to clothe the population of that large market area is spun, woven, and dyed in the home industries of the town. There is a fine Christian church on the main market street of Wuhu. Its active Christian laymen are the proprietors of some of the finest and most important home industry shops on "Main Street." In each of their shops they hold weekly prayer and Bible study sessions which include not only their own families but the workers and apprentices who work with them. As these earnest Christian laymen discussed with their pastor ways of reaching out with their Christian gospel, they came to an interesting conclusion: It was found that men who had weaving shops had been able to invite fellow weavers into their weekly prayer sessions and interest them in Bible study. It was learned that tailors were most successful in being able to speak of Christianity with men of their own guild, men who respected them for their craftsmanship. So the evangelistic campaign was planned for weavers to win weavers, tailors to win tailors, each man to extend his Christian witness through his own craft guild.

The postal workers of China are a notable group with a very high sense of civic responsibility, a remarkable record for delivering the mail through all kinds of difficulties. They have a high educational standard as required by the civil service tests. A large percentage of them are graduates of Christian schools. In the Shanghai General Post Office there is a Christian Fellowship of over ninety men. These men have rented meeting rooms in a building near the post office where they gather each noon for prayer. Twice a week they meet after work for a testimony meeting to which they invite their fellow workers who might be interested in knowing Christ. Here, too, they discuss their many work problems in light of the Christian teachings.

In the leadership of the Christian movement in China are some of the finest Christians in our world today. After the Battle of Mukden, the largest building on the campus of the Christian Mukden Medical College was practically destroyed. There is a great need for more doctors, more public health work in China today. The People's Government is aware of this and is eager to do what it can to meet the need. A method of meeting pressing needs is to enlist men to do double tasks. The students of Mukden Medical College were asked to give of their free time to rebuild the main building. They took to the job and did it well. A great mass meeting was called to celebrate the completion of the work. Two men were selected by their fellow students as the "Labor Heroes," the men who by their own hard work had inspired the others to their best efforts. When the two selected had reached the platform, someone from the audience cried out: "These two are Christians. Tell us, Christians, did you lead because of your Christian convictions or because you wished to see China rebuilt?" There was a surprised pause before the leader of the meeting, a Communist, replied to the questioner: "That is not a fair question. We have chosen them because of what they have done. It is not for us to question why." Christians all over China today are proving the quality of their living and leadership.

The Spirit of God has been released in China, and we need have no fear of the outcome. In the city of Tientsin, one of the leading Chinese daily newspapers is edited by a Christian. His editorial policy has been to print none of the sensational but only the constructive and positive. It has been a difficult task, but he has persisted with a great deal of courage. I met him my last Sunday in China. He said: "I am ready to die now. For a long time I have felt that the task of carrying on the work of the Christian Church and faith in Tientsin was on my shoulders. That has been lifted today. I attended a rally of Christian youth in this church this afternoon. The courageous way in which these young people are facing the problems in their schools and in their work has let me know they will carry on. I have no fear. The Spirit of God has been released in China."

Letters Abroad. We have had good response to the suggestion in the November issue about corresponding with people in other countries. Will you address your inquiries direct to the World Affairs Council, 1411 Walnut Street, Philadelphia, Pa.

GOD, MY NATION, AND MYSELF

Invocation:

"Glory be to Thee, O Father Almighty, who hast given us Thine only-begotten Son, that we might live through Him. Glory be to Thee, O Lord Jesus Christ, who became man that we might become sons of God. Glory be to Thee, O Holy Spirit, who dost direct and rule our hearts. All glory be to Thee, Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, one God, world without end. Amen."

Hymn: "O God of Earth and Altar."

Scripture: Isa. 9: 2-7; Titus 2: 11 to 3: 7.

A Litany: Our Country

O God the Father, who governest the nations upon earth:
Be merciful unto us.
Remember not, O Lord, the offenses of Thy people, our manifold transgressions and our national sins; deal not with us after our sins, neither reward us according to our wickedness:
Spare us, Father of mercies.
From failure to take account of the needs of other nations, from living unto ourselves alone, and from putting our trust in our own strength when our trust should be in Thee:
Save Thy people, Lord.
That we may hallow Thy name, that we may seek first Thy kingdom and Thy righteousness; and that, as Thou givest us to know Thy will, so we may do it:
We beseech Thee to hear us, good Lord.
That we may be mindful of the poor and the oppressed among us; that we may bring up the children of the nation in Thy faith and fear; that we may welcome those who in good faith have come from other lands to seek our fellowship, and receive them in Thy name:
We beseech Thee to hear us, good Lord.
That we make choice of just legislators and faithful counselors, who with a godly spirit may enact always things just, and things wise, and things merciful:
We beseech Thee to hear us, good Lord.
That we may co-operate earnestly and effectively with other nations, and with them labor for the defense and maintenance of public right, for the abolition of war and the establishment of international law, and for whatever else may pertain to the general good:
We beseech Thee to hear us, good Lord.

—*From* The Book of Common Worship, 1946.

Meditation:

The President's announcement that our nation will probably exist for many years under a military economy in the interests of security hits the Christian between the eyes. It makes him ponder the matter of his own relationship to such a system.

He can run away from the system. If the entire economy of the United States is to be geared for the production of war goods and the training of fighting teams and he feels that he cannot conscientiously remain a part of such a system, he can run away from it. One group have publicly announced their intention to separate themselves from our military economy and to go to Puerto Rico to live.

Another course open to the Christian caught in the present dilemma is to put away his Bible for the duration. He can ignore its clear message concerning the hope of mankind in the Prince of Peace. For the time being, he can comfort himself with the delusion that bombs and battalions are better security than righteousness and justice. The only thing wrong with this plan is that it will not work. In peace or war, when the Christian ignores the clear revelation of God to his children he denies his sovereign authority over the world. God is eternally enthroned or not at all. He is Lord under all conditions, or not at all.

There is one more way open to the modern Christian who is confronted with the prospect of living in and contributing to a wartime economy. He may remain "in" it but not become "of" it. He will contribute to the strengthening of his nation's moral witness so that the hope expressed by the Executive Committee of the Federal Council of Churches may be realized: "Let the policies of our nation be such as will command the respect and good will of men everywhere there is need for land reform, for emancipation of racial minorities, for the upholding of human rights and freedoms, for a more equitable distribution of the good things of the earth, for political institutions responsive to the free will of a free people."

Now comes the moment to decide the course to take. My choice is the latter one. By remaining "in" the American system but not becoming "of" it I believe that I can assist in making my nation a mighty force for morality among the nations.

Hymn: "O God of Love, O King of Peace."

Prayer:

"Almighty God, Creator and Redeemer of all mankind, who hast set Thy people apart into many nations, we beseech Thee to magnify in the hearts of all men their common brotherhood in Thee, and so to order the patriotism of all as to increase the love of each for other.

"Move the hearts of rulers, so far as in them lies, to spare their several peoples the misery of war; and help the people who acknowledge their authority to lay aside all hate and jealousy of other nations, and to give heed to counsels of friendliness and prudence.

"Give Thy grace and heavenly benediction to all agencies that strive after peace among the nations. Hasten the day when war shall be no more; nor the widow and orphan of soldier or sailor go about the streets, and the labour of the husbandman be set at naught. Bring speedily the hour when men everywhere shall sing praises unto Thy name, giving thanks that the Prince of Peace hath come to reign forever. Amen."

Prepared by Rev. Jay W. Kaufman, Pastor, Collenbrook Presbyterian Church, Drexel Hill, Pennsylvania.

CHRISTIAN Action

Citizenship

U. S. Proposals to UN

The United States has led off in the UN General Assembly with proposals that may have far-reaching consequences for the future of the United Nations. These proposals are designed to help the Assembly act in case of aggression, if the Security Council is unable to do so because of a veto.

In summary, these are the four proposals:

1. Provision for calling an emergency session of the General Assembly on 24 hours' notice, if the Security Council fails to act in a case of aggression. The United States suggests that such a session be called at the request of a majority of all UN members, or any seven members of the Security Council.

2. Establishment under the General Assembly of a peace (or security) patrol, which could investigate any trouble spot and report to the Security Council or Assembly. The value of such a report was shown in Korea, where the UN Korean Commission was able to notify the Security Council promptly of the facts of the invasion.

3. The earmarking of units within the armed forces of UN member nations, to be available on call from either the Security Council or the Assembly. Since a request by the Assembly could be only a recommendation, each nation would decide whether to send its forces into action in a particular case. The U. S. also proposes that the Assembly designate a UN military adviser to consult with members about training and equipping the UN units in their armed forces.

4. The establishment by the Assembly of a special committee to "study and report on means which the United Nations might use through collective action—including the use of armed force—to carry out the purposes and principles of the Charter." This would pave the way for working out still other ways to make the United Nations effective in case of aggression.

Significance of Proposals

In making these suggestions to the Assembly the U. S. has gone to the root of a great fear shared by most UN members today—that aggression might break out at some other point and Security Council action would be blocked by a Soviet veto. The proposals pave the way for speedy action through the Assembly. They also provide an entering wedge on the long-deadlocked problem of UN forces.

There will undoubtedly be some objection to the proposals on the ground that they circumvent the Security Council. While this is true, the Charter clearly gives the Assembly the right to make recommendations on security matters. Furthermore, the proposals are designed to prevent the basic principles of the United Nations from being thwarted, and to carry out one of its central purposes—collective action to stop aggression.

The United States is not suggesting any changes at this time that would require Charter amendment. Assembly resolutions remain only recommendations, and no nation would be required by the Assembly to send armed forces against its will. No problems of controlling a supernational force are raised.

For these very reasons there is some criticism that the proposals do not go far enough. This may be true. The fact remains that the U. S. plan is designed to get the maximum amount of agreement and solidarity among UN members today to meet the present crisis. It avoids questions that might take months, even years, of difficult negotiation and which might divide rather than unify the non-Communist world.—*From* Trends in Government, *League of Women Voters of the U. S.*

AMERICA GROWS OLDER

No longer can we Americans boast of our "young country." As a political entity we are today one of the oldest in existence. We were the first to develop mass industrial production and so are the "oldest" in this vital phase of life. We were "first" in many other fields of human endeavor, and to be first also means to be the oldest in the field.

But even more important is the fact that as a people, a nation, we are growing older. In 1900 only four out of every 100 Americans were 65 or older. Today eight out of every 100 have reached 65. Our present ratio of older people is 7.6 to the total population and they number 11,500,000.

By 1975 there will be 20,000,000 (including the author of this article).

Older people thus are becoming the greatest challenge our country faces—their employment or retirement, their health, their living arrangements, their own happiness and spiritual satisfaction.

To start meeting this challenge the Federal Security Administrator, Oscar Ewing, called a National Conference on the Aging to meet in August in Washington. The response was startling; 808 men and women from all parts of the country and representing every profession, every type of business, all branches of social work, came to discuss aging and the aged.

The Conference was a working conference—no set speeches other than the formal words of welcome, no set resolutions or predetermined actions. But meeting in ten sections which subdivided themselves into smaller groups, the 808 discussed what is being done, what is known and is not known, what needs to be done, what can be done and how to do it in that vast field now called gerontology. (Geriatrics, one field of gerontology, is that discipline of medicine which deals with the diseases of older people.)

For its guidance the Conference took a slogan from the masthead of the *Journal of Gerontology*,

"To add life to years, not just years to life."

And in pursuance of that aim it prepared reports which should be available soon for all interested.

A listing of the ten sections will indicate the Conference's scope:

1. Our Aging Population, which divided into sections on research and population changes.
2. Employment, Employability, Rehabilitation.
3. Income Maintenance.
4. Health Maintenance and Rehabilitation.
5. Education for an Aging Population.
6. Family Life, Living Arrangements, and Housing.
7. Creative and Recreational Activities.
8. Religious Programs and Services.
9. Community Organization.
10. Professional Personnel.

Section Eight, dealing with religious programs and services, brought together men and women from three faiths of America—Protestantism in all its branches, Roman Catholicism, and Judaism. A remarkable spirit of fellowship extended through all the meetings of this section, all being brought together by a deep concern that church and synagogue make a more effective, a more intelligent, and, above all, a more Godly approach to the problems of aging than has been done before.

Then agreement might be summarized in the words of an orientation statement adopted by the section:

"Aging is a part of the life process. No group in the life process lives in a vacuum or away from God's interest and care. Aging cannot be separated from the whole process of living without doing despite to persons and to the basic religious conviction that man's life is a whole. . . . Both youth and age are phases of *one* life pattern stemming from a divine origin."

And when the chairman of the section presented to the Conference as a whole a summation of the section's work he spoke for all when he said,

"The answer to the problems of aging and the aged is God."—*John Park Lee, Director, Division of Welfare Agencies, Presbyterian Board of Pensions.*

CHRISTIAN OPINION INFLUENCES THE WORLD

Christian churches have influenced world opinion and action on behalf of Displaced Persons and other refugees. And, spurred by the Christian consciences of citizens of many nations, one of the greatest mass migrations of individuals in human history is now nearing completion.

Members of Christian churches provided the initial pressure that prompted the emergence and subsequent workings of the UN International Refugee Organization, charged with resettlement and repatriation of 1½ million D.P.'s. (Displaced Persons comprise only one tenth of a total of 12 million refugees crowded into western Europe.)

With active world-wide aid and cooperation from Christian churches and other voluntary agencies, IRO had enabled more than 739,000 former D.P.'s to find new homes and new jobs in more than a dozen new lands by spring, 1950, nearly three years after it first began its work as an international humanitarian agency.

Worth Looking Into

A Community Close-up. During the hour before church service the Adult Bible class at the Second Presbyterian Church of Wilkinsburg, Pennsylvania, conducts an eight weeks' summer study course of subjects related to social education and action for church members and friends in the community.

Educators, civic leaders, social workers, health and recreation officers share their knowledge of community problems with churchmen, and together they have considered what the church can do to correct community conditions.

These summer Sunday morning studies of the church at work in its community have been well attended, and have attracted many interested persons from the community as well as church members. Plans have been formulated for continuing the study through the various age groups in the church.

Promotion Idea for *Social Progress*. A certain Methodist minister in upstate New York (Edward Carothers, Calvary Methodist Church, Albany) was invited to address the family-night meeting of the neighboring Westminster Presbyterian church. Because of his own wide experience and fine church program in the area of social education and action, he was asked to give this emphasis in his remarks. At the conclusion of his address he held above his head a recent copy of SOCIAL PROGRESS and testified that it was the finest Protestant periodical in the field of social education and action to be found anywhere. He ventured the suggestion that anyone wishing to subscribe that night might do so and he would personally see to the forwarding of their subscriptions. Seventy-three Presbyterian families gave a Methodist minister their payment for one of their own Presbyterian periodicals before they left that evening.

Church Night Programs with an S.E.A. Slant. "Christianity at Work in the Social Order" was the theme of a series of four church night meetings held last February at the Ravenswood Presbyterian Church in Chicago. Community problems of housing, juvenile delinquency, rehabilitation of the handicapped, and the presbytery's own program of social service were considered. Church families attended the dinners which preceded the forum.

The church bulletin announcing the series carried this pertinent statement of Bishop Francis J. McConnell: The chief function of the churches in social advance is the creation of a public opinion in which social advance can become more and more Christian. . . . The main immediate task is to start social currents of thinking into action which will at least move toward a new heaven and a new earth.

Everyman's United Nations. A United Nations World Book prepared by the United Nations Department of Public Information . . . a complete and authoritative guide to the UN and its specialized agencies. This book explains the machinery for constructive co-operation and conciliation that is in operation in the United Nations organization. It records its political and security aspects, its efforts to improve economic, educational, social conditions, and remove the barriers of world trade. Columbia University Press, 2960 Broadway, New York 27. $1.00.

Five Philadelphia churches are experimenting with the various sections of the provocative new study guide on Christian policy and international affairs in advance of publication of this pamphlet. The study guide is an accompanying piece of study material to be used with the world order book *God and the Nations.*

Missionary Education Movement Lists Future Study Themes

The list of study topics projected by the Missionary Education Movement for the years from 1951-1956 includes the following: 1951-1952: **foreign theme,** "*Latin America,*" **domestic theme,** "*Churches for Our Country's Needs*" (this has to do with church extension, and its adoption was in part due to the suggestion of our Board of National Missions); 1952-1953: **foreign theme,** "*Africa*" (with emphases upon problems of racial groups), **domestic theme,** "*Home Missions and Human Rights*" (also dealing with racial problems and rights of minority groups); 1953-1954, **foreign theme,** "*The Life and Task of the Church Around the World*" (having to do with the World Council of Churches and its job), **domestic theme,** "*Spanish-speaking Americans*" (taking in Spanish-Americans of the older cultures of the West, as well as the newer immigrants from Spain, Puerto Rico, and Latin America, and the Mexican migrants); 1954-1955, **foreign,** "*India, Pakistan, and Ceylon,*" **domestic,** "*The City*"; and 1955-1956 (tentative), **foreign,** "*Southeast Asia and the South Pacific,*" **domestic,** "*New Ventures in Home Missions.*"

About Books

War or Peace, by John Foster Dulles. The Macmillan Company. Paperbound, $1.00; clothbound, $2.00.

This book by John Foster Dulles has a special significance because of his appointment by the President to represent the Republican Party in the shaping of our foreign policy. A study of Mr. Dulles' mind will show whether his efforts are likely to promote international understanding or only an increase in international tensions.

No one can have any doubt about Mr. Dulles' sincere desire for peace. He strikes sharply at those elements in America which would like to provoke a "preventative" war before Soviet power grows beyond its present stage. He also sees with clearness the unwisdom of the present predominance of military minds in shaping American foreign policy. "To get an air base at the price of good will may be a very bad bargain" (p. 239). Mr. Dulles knows that another war would be almost certain to leave the whole world under totalitarian regimes either Fascist or Communist.

This book's chief strength is in what it has to say concerning the United Nations. It lists its positive achievements in bringing public opinion to bear upon international disputes. It also has some interesting and valuable suggestions for improving the effectiveness of the UN organization. Mr. Dulles is particularly anxious that membership in the UN should be made universal, the only requirement being that each member country have a stable government.

The remainder of the book is both puzzling and disturbing. The naïve self-righteousness of the attitude that is expressed throughout is amazing. Often one feels that the title of the book should be changed to read either "We Were Always Right" or "They Were Always Wrong." Mr. Dulles seems to share to an extreme degree the widespread blindness that makes so many people acutely conscious of the sins of Soviet Russia but completely oblivious of the fact that America has been committing some remarkably similar sins. He waxes wrathful at each action of Russia in the cold war, but at no point does he mention that we too have been fighting the cold war and that our actions more than once have caused suffering to other countries. Every extension of Russia's influence is a product of fraud and violence, while every extension of our influence is a reaching out to rescue people in distress.

Mr. Dulles gives the impression that when the representatives of the nations are gathered together in conference, it is only the Russian diplomat who ever uses his cleverness to gain an advantage over his opponent. Even a scanty reading in the records of high diplomacy during the past twenty-five years should remind him how often the Russians suffered humiliation at the hand of our Western representatives. It becomes increasingly clear that if the United States is to take its rightful place among the nations, it must stop judging itself by the ideals that it professes and judging other nations by the way that they live up to American ideals.

Mr. Dulles draws a very clear picture of the peril that Soviet Russia constitutes for America today. There is no reason to minimize that danger. Mr. Dulles also in his concluding chapter recognizes that our most serious dilemma is the lack of a "righteous and dynamic faith." He is impressed by the fanatical devotion and enthusiasm of the Russians for the creed they advocate. Why then does he not offer us in this book a program of action about which we could feel a little enthusiasm?

Europeans will shiver as they read the plea that America should use its economic power as a lever on Europe to force the separate nations, including Britain, to become a single nation. Others will be impressed by the seeming lack of any desire to understand the forces that lie behind the events. It is assumed that countries go Communist merely because of the methods of fraud and terror exercised by Russia. Oversimplifications of this kind are not helpful in winning the respect of the distressed peoples of the earth. Mr. Dulles admits frankly that we have no very dynamic faith to offer men today. What he does not seem to realize is that as Christians we can have no dynamic faith until we give up some of the attitudes which he expresses so forcibly in these pages.

—James D. Smart.

READABLE AND RECOMMENDED FOR YOUR PAMPHLET SHELF

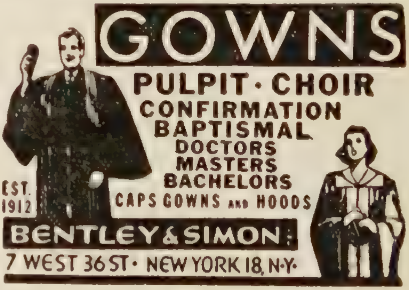
The UNESCO Story**—**Every page of this 112-page action handbook is filled with practical program suggestions for churches and local communities . . . news of what community groups have done to organize forums, stimulate public interest, arrange exhibits, sponsor radio and television programs, plan workshops in co-operation with schools and colleges. . . Make your church and community world-minded through UNESCO. Order from UNESCO Relations Staff, Department of State, Washington 25, D. C. May, 1950. Free.

Bold New Program**,** by Willard R. Espy—An exciting account of an exciting idea . . . an important book that shows you the how, why, and where of a technical assistance program to underdeveloped areas . . . fascinating facts and figures about the world and its technical needs and what the United States and the United Nations should do about them. Bantam Books, Inc., Department C, 830 West Haines Street, Chicago 22, Illinois. 25 cents.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Letter on page 18 is used by permission of Dr. John A. Mackay and *The New York Times.*

Quotations in "Meditation," page 26, are from *A Message for World Order Day*, adopted by the Executive Committee of the Federal Council of Churches, September, 1950; prayer on page 26, by Robert W. Rogers, is from *Prayers for Services*, by Morgan P. Noyes.



WHAT NEXT IN SOCIAL SECURITY?

By **ELIZABETH WICKENDEN,** ***Washington Representative, American Public Welfare Association, Chicago, Illinois.***

The General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church, U.S.A., has affirmed and reaffirmed the Christian's responsibility for economic justice in a democratic society. Elizabeth Wickenden's article clearly presents the challenge to Christians to support methods of securing economic justice consonant with our Christian faith.

"Basic to any stable and just world society or any orderly and peaceful national community is the need of the individual for freedom from fear engendered by economic instability. . . .

"Old-age Protection. We believe that old-age protection should be given in keeping with present needs. Protection should be extended to millions of persons now outside the Social Security Act, whose old age is now protected only by charity. Thousands of self-employed have dire need of the protection of the Act. We recommend that the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America take appropriate steps to obtain old-age protection for all its employees not now under our pension plan.

"Annual Wage. We recommend to industrial management the study of and increased experiment in plans for an annual wage, and in plans for pensions beyond the present scope of social security. The security afforded by such an annual wage and such pensions is a goal that commends itself to a Christian society."—*Minutes, General Assembly, 1948.*

THE addition of twelve million more workers and their families to our social security system and the substantial increase in its benefits were the major domestic achievements of the 81st Congress. The fact that only two Senators and fourteen House members voted against the bill would seem conclusive evidence of widespread popular support—cutting across all factional lines—for social security. Yet paradoxically questions were raised which challenged both its philosophical base and the method of its operation. Neither the debate nor the passage of the bill resolved these questions; therefore the Senate Finance Committee was authorized to make a study to examine the fundamental concepts on which our present social security system is based.

The system of contributory social insurance has been specifically challenged. Opponents claim that it would be simpler and cheaper to substitute for the insurance system, in which benefits have been "earned" by previous contributions and are therefore related to previous earnings, a system of universal relief or flat pensions in which everyone over a certain age would receive a monthly benefit of, say, $30. But the challenge to the insurance method of assuring security is, in reality, only one aspect of a much broader challenge to the principle of social security itself.

In America today it is quite evident that there are two conflicting trends of thinking and feeling on this subject. On the one hand there is the passionate yearning for security which reflects itself in union efforts to get health and welfare provisions through collective bargaining, the pension movement as a political factor, polls taken among different groups of people to determine their most pressing needs, and the action of Congress itself. On the other hand we see the persistent opprobrious use of the phrase "welfare state," the challenging on economic or political grounds of our social security commitments. Many Jeremiahs question whether the moral fiber of our people is not, in fact, undermined either by preoccupation with security or the existence of public social security programs. Here in essence is a debate that touches the very heart of Christian social ethics.

Two questions appear to be involved here: Is the desire for social security a legitimate one, and, if so, what is the best method of fulfilling it?

There are those who claim that man is inherently a lazy creature who can be expected to produce and fulfill his own potentialities only under the goad of insecurity. To these people the desire for security is evidence of man's weakness. They would not deny the starving widow or the hungry old man the wherewithal to keep alive, but they would make it sufficiently meager and demeaning to discourage anyone else from aspiring to a similar condition.

To those of us on the other side of this debate the moralistic approach to this desire for social security seems rather old-fashioned. It seems to assign to the individual a degree of control over his own economic destiny scarcely realistic in these days of revolutionary technological change, complicated capital structure, involved interrelationships of supply, demand, prices, money values, and world conditions generally. The average worker takes his chances in the labor market, bargains as best he can for his wages, and necessarily relies increasingly on his collective strength as a member of a democratic society for his security. He does not depend on his individual ability to wrest it singlehanded from the economy.

It seems old-fashioned likewise to argue that the desire for security is antagonistic to economic productivity, political freedom, or the cultivation of higher spiritual values. Modern psychiatry assigns fear a destructive role in the personality. Fear does not mobilize human energy as its advocates claim; it warps the personality and diverts productive capacity into destructive channels. Means and ends are confused in the argument that fear and insecurity are good for the soul. Surely the production of goods and services is only a means to the end that man may cultivate his spiritual and cultural potentialities.

Debate About Methods Too

But even after the necessity for some provision against insecurity has been conceded there are many disagreements as to how it should be provided. There are a few who claim that private savings, family support, and private charity should be adequate to the task. But the great majority accept the fact that only the Government has broad enough coverage and adequate resources to extend the basic guarantee which modern social conditions make necessary. This is not a new principle; in fact, it goes back to the poor laws adopted in England in the seventeenth century. But the economic and social development of these three hundred and fifty years have brought about many changes in thinking as to how social security should be provided and at what level of living.

Through the years four basic methods have developed for using Governmental machinery to assure individuals against want. The first of these, the poorhouse, still exists widely in the United States but has few outright advocates because of the obvious indignity of herding together people whose only crime is poverty.

The second method of assuring security is to give relief, in cash or in kind, to persons in actual need. Its essential characteristic is the application of the "means test," or inquiry into the applicant's financial status. The means test, even decently and liberally administered, is anathema to the average American, but the availability of assistance on individual basis is probably indispensable to any real program of Governmental security. For no other system can anticipate the unusual individual situation and meet it on a flexible basis. But when over six million people are receiving relief at a combined cost to Government of over two billion dollars a year, many question whether methods cannot be found to assure their security which would be more satisfactory to them and less expensive to the taxpayer.

The American Concept of Independence

To most people it has seemed that this more satisfactory method lay in the direction of social insurance. Under this system people buy, through contributions during their working years, their own security in terms of definite benefits due them without a means test on retirement, in case of involuntary unemployment, or to their dependents in case of their premature death. This system is consistent with American concepts of dignity and independence, carries its own basic financing, and should serve to reduce dependence on relief to the unusual case. Moreover, it has now, under the new legislation, been extended to all working people, except farm operators, casual workers, and a few professional groups. Why, then, is it challenged? Some attacks center around the admitted complexity of maintaining wage records and collecting individual payments in behalf of millions of workers. Others point to the difficulty of handling a Governmental reserve fund and still maintaining the system on a reasonably self-financing basis, the problem of compulsory savings in the face of a changing price level, and the problem of how to provide for those persons who have already retired. But the more basic opposition stems from the conviction that so long as benefits are based on an earned right it is difficult to control their total cost to the economy. It is argued that a system in which payments are subject to the restraint of the appropriating mechanism rather than an earned schedule of benefits would in the long run be cheaper.

So we come to the fourth alternative, a pension system in which everyone over a specified age would receive a fixed amount regardless of individual circumstances. Dr. Townsend and other long-time old-age pension advocates recently gained surprising allies when Herbert Hoover, Senators Cain, Butler, and Taft, and Brookings Institution advocated various modifications of this plan. However, where Dr. Townsend talks about $145 a month for every "senior citizen" neopension advocates are more likely to set a figure between $25 and $40 with a possible means test to limit its availability.

What Benefits Can We Afford?

Two basic questions are involved in determining the level of benefits. First, how much can our economy afford to devote to the maintenance of those who are no longer producing? No system of financing or administering social security can change the fact that the total population, producers and nonproducers alike, must be supported out of current production. Hence the level of production at any particular point is the key to what level of social security is economically feasible.

The second question affecting the level of social security benefits is their relationship to living standards. The purpose of social security is to maintain a reasonable standard of living in periods of life that are necessarily nonproductive. This means that if the economy, rightly or wrongly, has created wide disparities in living standards between, for example, the Pittsburgh steelworker and the Alabama farm hand the level of social security benefits must necessarily take account of this disparity.

A flat pension payment which seemed reasonable to the Pittsburgh steelworker would probably create an economic aristocracy among retired Alabama farm hands and a political rebellion on the part of their younger colleagues who are still paying the taxes.

Therefore, any flat pension system would inevitably tend to settle at a level somewhat below the lowest standard of living in the country. It would likewise generate pressures, on the part of taxpayers, to apply a means test. It is the logic of this trend that has made the pension approach attractive to advocates of economy.

Insurance vs. Pensions

The unions and other advocates of higher social security benefits have consistently fought for a benefit level sufficient to meet actual living needs. But when their collective bargaining efforts last year pegged that level at $100 and $125 a month and committed employers to supplement insurance benefits up to that amount economy advocates and private insurance companies became sufficiently alarmed to look on the flat pension as a way out.

Actually the average increase in social insurance benefits of 77 per cent enacted into law was a compromise that left the issue unresolved. And so the fight to substitute pensions for insurance may well go on. The fight for higher benefits and additional forms of protection such as disability insurance will likewise continue. In a sense the two positions are irreconcilable. For on the one hand the worker wants a system that will give him absolute assurance of entitlement to a particular benefit and he is willing to pay for that assurance. But on the other hand the neopension advocates argue for a system that will be "realistic" in terms of current cost to the economy—in other words, subject to the political and economic pressures of the day.

No one in this day of economic complexity can safely disregard economic considerations. But neither can those who are concerned with the mechanics of producing and distributing the world's goods safely forget the human values they are intended to promote. People are entitled to feel that the end of their working is to serve the needs of themselves and their families over the course of their whole lives. This is what social security is intended to do. The best method of securing it is that which will release modern man to make his best contribution to his world, free from fear and free from want.

THE CHRISTIAN ANSWER TO COMMUNISM

By **JOHN C. BENNETT**, *professor of Christian Theology and Ethics, Union Theological Seminary, New York City.*

CHRISTIANS face no more baffling problem than the problem of deciding how best to deal with Communism. In some countries they find that Communism is a faith that wins many of their neighbors, especially the youth in their own communities. In some countries they live under Communist Governments and every day they must decide whether or not to co-operate with those who are in power. They must often ask if the time has come to draw the line and to resist. In America the situation is quite different, for, in spite of the widespread Red hunting, there is very little actual support of Communism in this country. American Christians have to ask what the foreign policy of their Government should be in relation to Russia and the Communist world. They have to ask what attitudes toward Communism should be encouraged among their own members by the Churches. They have to ask what policies Churches as Churches should adopt in relation to the mission work for which they are responsible in lands that are controlled by Communism.

It is essential for us to determine at the outset the location of the difficulty that Communism creates for Christians. Why must they conclude that there is a conflict between Christianity and Communism? It is my conviction that many of the answers that are given to this question miss the main point. I doubt if any one of the particular characteristics of Communism that are often cited furnishes an adequate explanation of the conflict. Certainly we cannot find the difficulty in the Communist economic system or in Communist social goals. There is much overlapping between Communist goals and Christian goals. Also, I think that it is a mistake to put the emphasis upon the materialism of Communism or upon the moral relativism of Communism or even upon the atheism of Communism.

Each of these elements in Communism is a crude way of protesting against something that is false in the dominant religious and moral ideas which the Communist prophets, Marx and Engels especially, found it necessary to reject. Dialectical materialism was a partly justified protest against a one-sided idealism. Moral relativism was a stick with which to hit all the false uses of morality to support the *status quo.* Atheism was, in part, the result of a natural revolt against the religion that was familiar to these men. I do not believe that American Christians could condemn Communism because of its belief that revolution, even violent revolution, may be necessary.

The difficulty that Communism creates for Christians is not one of these things but the way in which they are combined and especially the Communist tendency to absolutize the resulting system. It is the fact that Communists believe that they have the only solution of the human problem, the fact that they regard their program as a final means for human redemption—it is this fact that is the root of the difficulty. In other words, it is not the atheism of Communism that should be our major concern; it is the practical idolatry of Communism.

The worst consequence of this absolutism of Communism is that it provides an excuse for the most ruthless treatment of opponents. Opponents have no status as persons at all; they are merely obstacles to be removed by the most efficient methods available. Communism which had its origin in the moral indignation of Marx against the oppression of human beings in mid-nineteenth century capitalism has itself become the most efficient and systematic form of oppression that modern men have ever known.

WHAT should be the response of Christians to Communism? If I am right about the essential conflict between Christianity and Communism, there can be no question that Christians must seek to resist the extension of Communist power. They should resist Communism everywhere, spiritually or ideologically. They should resist Communism politically wherever there is a constructive alternative. I believe that American Christians should support their Government in so far as it is helping to provide a constructive alternative to Communism for other nations. Also, and this is more controversial, I believe that American Christians should support their Government as it attempts by military preparations to make clear to the Soviet Union that it would be too costly to take a short cut of military force in the effort to extend the power of Communism.

There is another side of the Christian attitude toward Communism which may not be more important but at least needs greater emphasis because it involves the correction of the dominant American outlook on this subject. I shall speak of several corrective emphases that should characterize the Christian response to Communism.

1. We must see the rise of an antireligious Communist movement as a judgment upon the Church and upon the comfortable middle-class world to which we belong. It is one

of the most tragic facts of modern history that in the nineteenth century the working classes especially in continental Europe "came to believe that the Churches were against them or indifferent to their plight" (Report of the Third Section of the Amsterdam Assembly of the World Council of Churches). Many branches of the Church did wake up to this situation and did come to stress the Christian concern for social justice. But this came very late and did not undo the harm that had been done.

This recognition of the responsibility of the Churches themselves for the form that the Communist protest has taken should prevent us from engaging in a self-righteous crusade against Communism. Let me quote from Professor Jacques Maritain, who is now lecturing in Princeton University, some sentences that express exactly what I believe we should all say. After pointing out that the movements of social protest were led, not by saints, but by atheists, he says: "Why such a tragic defection? I consider it hard not to see in it a kind of punishment of the Christian world, which for a long period had more or less betrayed Christianity in its practical behavior, and despised the lessons of the saints, and forsaken the immense herd of the hopeless" (*The Commonweal*, December 30, 1949.

2. We must preserve solidarity with the people to whom Communism makes a strong appeal because it promises them deliverance from the burden of poverty and hunger and from the results of racial discrimination. Communism may not be able to fulfill these promises, and so far the effect of Communism in many places has been to bind heavier burdens upon people in the form of political oppression. But that is less important at this point than the fact that there are millions of people, especially in Asia, who, without being convinced Marxists, look to Communism as the only movement that seems radical enough to give them a new start. In comparison with it the more respectable movements, including the Church, do not seem to mean business. Whatever we do, we must keep contact with these people. We must not write them off as pro-Communist. We must understand why the world has such a different appearance to them than it does to us, for we live in a prosperous oasis in an impoverished world.

3. We should never lose sight of the conviction that the only effective resistance to Communism is the effort to discover better solutions to the problems that give Communists their opportunity. This means, among other things, that American Christians have a major responsibility to strive to prevent a depression in this country. A depression accompanied by mass unemployment would be the greatest possible opportunity for Communism to expand.

Also, it should be emphasized continually that the military approach to Russia and Communism should be secondary. I believe that it is important for the non-Communist world to have enough military strength to constitute an effective balance to Communist power. But as soon as we begin to think that we can stop Communism by means of military force we will do all the wrong things. The power of Communism is not primarily military power. It is the power of an idea, the power of propaganda, the power of a program that is designed to overcome the poverty of nations. We might conceivably defeat Russia as a nation by military force but that would not mean the defeat of Communism. That defeat can come only by the presentation of another positive program backed by an idea and a faith that have more truth than the idea and faith of Communism.

4. Finally, the Christian must confront Communism as a faith that wins the souls of men. The Christian task on its deepest level is an evangelistic task. Let us be clear that no evangelistic effort that has as its primary motive the desire to aid the political defeat of Communism should be considered. The motive must not be political; it must be a concern for the claim of the Christian gospel upon people everywhere.

A missionary in China has recently written of the students and intellectuals in that country that among them "Communism has practically no competition." He says that "there is no other integrated philosophy of life and society in the field around which a man can integrate his thoughts." From a Christian point of view Communism as a philosophy of life seems third-rate, but we must remember that there are millions of people who have never had even a fourth-rate philosophy of life.

SOONER or later there will be a new openness to Christian evangelism of the right sort, of the sort that deals rigorously with the problems of justice and also meets the deeper needs of men for light, for divine grace and spiritual power. Many of the people who accept Communism have never heard Christ presented in a way that makes him relevant to their questions and their needs. The time of openness will come because the Achilles' heel of Communism is that it has no understanding of the dimensions of evil in human life, of postrevolutionary evil. When this becomes more apparent than it is now, we may expect to see much of the human self-sufficiency of Communism overcome and we may find many who now are quite closed to the gospel ready to hear it. May the Church be there at the right moment and with a message that grows out of a true understanding of the gospel and out of love for the people who have been so tragically misled.

INVOCATION

By **KERMIT EBY**, ***Associate Professor of the Social Sciences, University of Chicago.***

Brethren:
We meet today in the potential glare of the hydrogen bomb.
We may see more clearly by it or be blinded.
History will judge us.

The hydrogen bomb is the culminating accomplishment of the civilization that has professed Christianity.
Out of Christian Russia came Bolshevism and the Communist State.
Out of Christian Italy came Mussolini and the Fascist State.
Out of Christian Germany came Hitler and the Nazi State.
Out of Christian United States came Hiroshima.
This after nineteen hundred and fifty years.

Need I recall His sermons now?

Underlying the hydrogen bomb is the assumption howevermuch we may deny it—
That those who do not believe cannot be brought into the belief and therefore must be destroyed before they destroy us: though we may let them strike the first blow.
—Then do not turn the other cheek, but drop the bomb!
Over the "Voice of America" we preach Christianity, but we support gunboats, not missionaries.
This after nineteen hundred and fifty years.

Has America become a more Christian nation since the early days of the Republic since Jeffersonian equalitarianism?
We need a sense of history. What are the trends?

In business:
The decline of the small entrepreneur,
The proliferation of the corporate giants,
The denial of any concept of social justice
Which suggests a compromise of the principle of profit.

In labor:
The decline of the local union,
The proliferation of the giant international,
The rise of a massive monolithic power structure,
The denial of any concept of a loyal opposition that suggests a compromise of personal power or immediate political success.
In government:
The political machine,
The proliferation of lobbying, of the deal,
The decline of the decision-making function of the lower echelons and the nonofficeholding citizen,
And the introduction of fear—the fear of going to the wrong meeting, of saying the wrong thing, of having the wrong friends, of seeing the wrong people.
These are the trends after nineteen hundred and fifty years.

What, brethren, of the churches and ministers of God?
How do we stand in the trends after nineteen hundred and fifty years?
—We organize, we lobby, we pass resolutions.
We preach, we reason, we argue, we persuade.
We write, we publish, we advertise.
And then we get the hydrogen bomb.
Perhaps we are doing something wrong.
Perhaps we are not doing enough of something right.

We have become infatuated with success.
If one wishes to become a successful minister, it is preferable to have a great dues-paying congregation of hypocrites than a small group that has preserved its integrity.
If one wishes to become a successful minister, then a new church is more important than a new believer.
If one wishes to become a successful minister, one plugs for lecture engagements, writes magazine articles, and gets a higher salary.

We have accepted the Coca-Cola concept of religion.
We produce an effervescent, scintillating, sparkling sermon, attractively bottled in pseudopsychological terminology, pleasing to the consumer, even if it causes a few spiritual hiccups, and available for all customers at the fairly standard rate of the weekly contribution.
Every Sunday on the pulpit: the pause that refreshes.

After nineteen hundred and fifty years we have arrived at the hydrogen bomb and the Coca-Cola concept of religion.

Suppose we were to admit my charge—we ministers here assembled—for the sake of titillating our imaginations before we settle down to the work of formulating plans, and of passing resolutions, of carrying out internal and external political strategies—suppose we were to set for ourselves the task of acting to break the trends?
What would we do?
What then?

Suppose we were to return to our pulpits, and with us ministers throughout the land, and were to say to our congregations,
"We renounce success,"
and then demand, as Jesus Christ demanded, that the moneylenders leave our temples—and name the names;
Suppose we could forget the strategies of getting along with the congregations, of placating the pillars of the church, of providing spectator recreation each week end, and invited those who did not wish to worship to leave;
Who would leave and who would stay, and who would then begin to come?
Jesus Christ did not fear naming names.
In times long past even the duke of the city did penance in his shirt sleeves on the bare steps of the cathedral.
Only the Coca-Cola salesman must feel assured that all his customers are really good fellows and name no names, or call one's sins to one's face. Have a sparkling sermon—or resolution—with that always-fresh flavor!

Or, better yet, leave our churches and go out among the people,
Leave our churches, so big, so imposing, so heavily insured—such a burden, being a good enough salesman to get a decent return on the investment.
Jesus Christ walked among the people and spoke the words of peace and brotherhood to any who would listen.
Suppose we did that.
Just imagine it!

Tomorrow, thousands of ministers, leaving their churches, their conferences, their lecture engagements, their studies, their tasks of providing religious recreation, their concerns of salaries and status—and walking among their fellow men with the word of peace and brotherhood.
Imagine thousands of us day after day walking among our fellow men and

talking to all who would listen to the word of God and its meaning for the world today.
Who can estimate the consequences?
How many would listen and how many would turn aside, and how many would listen who had never listened before?
Foolish, you say?
Is it any more foolish than to do again what we have done before day after day and year after year and failed to prevent one war, one materialistic revolution, one riot of ugly hate, or one atom bomb?

Unrealistic, you say?
Is it any more unrealistic than to go through the same motions that we have gone through again and again and again, by which we have earned our daily bread—but not our eternal salvation, we can be sure.

But it would not succeed, you say? Good! Let it fail!
Are we succeeding now?
Will one more conference and one more set of resolutions and one more meeting with the big brass succeed where all the other conferences, meetings, resolutions have failed?
Are we not heading at breakneck speed into defeat?
Could we go down to defeat any faster than by the hydrogen bomb?
And why this worry about defeat?
If there is the divine spark in man, his quest for God will not end with our poor failure.
And if one doubts the existence of the divine spark, then why not manufacture Coca-Cola?
It is much more lucrative than manufacturing religion and there is more justification for worrying about success.

Let us not deceive ourselves further. We are rushing downhill to defeat. If there is some chance even yet of victory for the brotherhood of man in our time and our civilization, it is not to be attained by the old ways—
By the ways of men who did not possess the final weapon,
By the ways of the big brass making policy
—or the Coca-Cola salesman and his effervescent product, willing to say anything that needs to be said in any way
To close the deal, not to lose the sale.
If there is a chance for this generation, it lies with those who will meet the absolute weapon with an absolute ethic.

And if there is no chance, at least let us go down to defeat on our own terms.
There is some Christian dignity in that.
Yet I suppose we dare not.
If we go, as we seem to be going, into defeat, we shall be doubly defeated by being made to look very much like those who eventually will destroy us by all our efforts to meet them on their ground instead of ours.
I suppose we dare not.

Yet I cannot help wondering, if we dared—

I cannot lose that vision of thousands of ministers declaring the words of God in certain and precise terms, naming names, analyzing the classic generalities down into the concrete behavior of every man in the congregation
—of thousands of ministers walking among their fellow men and talking with all as brother and man of God
—day after day all over America.
What if we really did it?
What if we dropped our conferences and our high-level politics and our big-time lectures and our capital investments and went out among the people as brothers and men of God—
Might we find the divine spark in our own time?
Might we uncover the hidden longing
For brotherhood, for peace, for God?
Might we not find followers, hundreds, then thousands,
our brothers and fellow men?

What if we touched the chord that set the chorus?
What if we uttered the word that started the prayer?
All the longing of the people whom we have left behind,
All the hope of men who yet may seek,
All the profound yearning of the children of God—
Waiting to be set in motion.

The spark, the divine spark.
What if we dared?

Could we, Dear God?
—O brethren, let us pray.

"THE AMERICAN WAY"

By **CLIFFORD EARLE,** *Associate Secretary, Division of Social Education and Action, Presbyterian Board of Christian Education.*

IN PRESENT-DAY discussions of politics and economics one hears many references to "the American way."

Those who use the phrase are often quite vague as to what it means. "The American way" is usually identified loosely with "the free enterprise system" by which American business and industry are run. This does not help very much, however, for every political and economic group in America has its own definition of "free enterprise."

Freedom Versus Equality

As I see it, "the American way" is nothing more nor less than old-fashioned democracy. I say "old-fashioned" because I mean the give-and-take democracy of the Declaration of Independence, the Constitution, and the Bill of Rights.

At the heart of democracy there is a noble affirmation—the dignity of man and the importance of treating men on a fraternal rather than a differential basis. Here we discern a deep affinity between true democracy and Christianity. The two hold similar convictions about man and his place in the world.

The traditional goals of democracy are two—the liberty of the individual and the equality of all men. These are not altogether compatible ideas. If all men are to enjoy equal rights, every man must accept a measure of freedom that is less than absolute. No man is free to do that which keeps others from enjoying equal rights with him.

In life, men acting as individuals and in groups are constantly seeking to enlarge their freedom. They are eternally encroaching upon the rights of others. Democracy involves a vigilant and continuous effort to keep liberty and equality in balance. This process, as implemented by the Constitution, is what we mean by "the American way."

Democracy in the great American tradition has special meaning in three broad areas of human endeavor—political, economic, and, for want of a better designation, social.

Political Democracy

In the political field democracy asserts that government exists by the will of the people. They are sovereign. Their representatives, chosen by popular vote, make and administer laws defining the rights and duties of all the people.

Totalitarian philosophy holds that the individual citizen exists for the state. Democracy affirms that the state exists to serve the citizens. A fundamental proposition of democracy is that the people own and run the government.

The American tradition calls for the fullest possible participation of every citizen in the affairs and decisions of government. As population increases this becomes increasingly difficult to facilitate. Democracy's perpetual problem is to keep open the channels of report and communication between government and people, and to improve the ways whereby citizens, responsible and informed, contribute to the formation of public policies and the making of decisions.

Economic Democracy

In the area of economic relationships democracy asserts the right of the individual (1) to seek a gainful occupation of his own choice in which he can do something worthwhile, (2) to engage in the free exchange of goods and services, (3) to use the proceeds of his work as he sees fit, and (4) to own and enjoy the use of private property.

These rights, Americans believe, belong equally to all. Every man has a claim to them, whether he be industrial worker, businessman, farmer, Government employee, or member of a profession. None should be restricted in these economic rights beyond the requirement to preserve them equally for all men. No economic group should be permitted to exercise power to the disadvantage of other groups or of the public.

As our economic life becomes more intricate and complicated, it is inevitable that government should take a greater hand in setting its rules and bounds. In this field as in others, democracy must seek to balance freedom and equality.

Social Democracy

The American tradition affirms that "all men are created equal." Democracy has always meant a classless society in which no man is above another bv virtue of his birth or name. Every man is to be accepted for what he is.

Racial discrimination and class snobbishness have no place in a truely democratic society. A major task of democracy is to eliminate everything that denies equality to all in the enjoyment of civil rights.

America's Mission

Can "the American way" be identified with anything less than the American tradition of democracy in its deepest meaning and broadest application?

To make democracy live is America's mission in the world. There is no more important task to which we can put our hands today than to strengthen it, and to extend its blessings until all men, everywhere, are free and equal.

A CHRISTIAN VIEW ON THE INTERNATIONAL CRISIS

Dr. O. Frederick Nolde's address before the National Council of Churches is of such urgent importance that we are getting it to Social Progress *readers as promptly as possible. In order to include it in this issue we are using the editorial pages and making other adjustments in the magazine. We recommend the eight points of this statement for personal and group study and action. Dr. Nolde is director of the Commission of the Churches on International Affairs of the World Council of Churches and the International Missionary Council.*

My approach to the present situation is on the background of two presuppositions. The first is my conviction that God in his goodness makes strength available in proportion to the needs of the hour. Christianity was born and bred in adversity, and Christians have risen to greatest heights when confronted by the most critical tests. God will provide strength at this moment of history if only we will use what he places at our disposal. In the second place, I hold to the belief that even in this trying hour a third world war is not inevitable. In accepting that view, we must not delude ourselves. Events of the last few days have considerably diminished the margin of possibility. We are on the brink of a precipice. To avoid being plunged into the abyss, we must exploit to the full every possibility which that thin margin affords us.

The broad outlines of the world's dilemma are generally known. With full recognition that we are not without guilt with regard to the total situation that has arisen, we are convinced that an act of aggression has been committed. The UN authorized an international police action which has, on varying grounds and in various ways, been opposed and resisted by North Korea, by the People's Government of China, and by the U.S.S.R. In the U.S.A., as well as in other countries, a far-flung program of military preparation is under way. While there are some who believe that force should never be used, the preponderant majority reluctantly accepts the necessity of military strength to serve as a deterrent to aggression and, wherever aggression occurs, as a means of opposing it. The reality of the situation is that the world is divided into two armed camps and that the United States and other Governments are making every effort to have a military power sufficient for any emergency. In face of these circumstances, the definition of our problem is not too difficult. We must find those affirmative steps which will decrease the need for using military measures now under way and, if further need does arise, to keep such military measures at every point to the absolute minimum that circumstances will allow.

In seeking to determine these affirmative steps, we must ask ourselves what can be done by the people to whom we can speak and who will listen to us. We cannot at this time hope to get sympathetic audience from Soviet-controlled areas. What we can do is so to govern our own immediate actions by justice and good will as progressively to extend the area of our influence and ultimately win a hearing from those who now oppose us.

Before proposing concrete steps, let me stress the importance of building into the fabric of our individual and community life the two presuppositions that I previously mentioned. Our people need the comfort and inspiration that come from the conviction that God does make available the strength which the emergency requires. The knowledge that there still remains a marginal possibility of averting a global war should intensify their efforts in this critical time.

In suggesting eight possible lines of procedure, I shall first of all indicate the danger against which we should guard and then explain or illustrate the positive means by which this may be done. Needless to say, isolation of any one proposal from the others may lead to a faulty conception of what is intended.

I

GUARD against hysteria which robs action of moral perspective and political wisdom. Confronted by imminent danger, people are disposed to cast reason and judgment to the wind. In alarming proportions, there is, for example, the demand that we should now drop atomic bombs on Communist China and promptly invade Manchuria. I unhesitatingly express my personal opinion that these are the very things which we should not at this moment do. In the first place, until all other means have been explored and found impossible, the dropping of atomic bombs would not be morally justifiable. In the second place, we would be veritably playing into the hands of those who want to pin upon us the tangible responsibility for starting a world war. Be it noted that in saying this I speak in the light of conditions as they exist today and allow that the conditions of tomorrow may be different. I would not give to those who are resisting the decisions of the UN the comfort and assurance of a pledge not to resort to drastic measures if their actions leave us no reasonable alternative. By calmness and confidence, born of the conviction that God will ultimately prevail, we must meet our responsibility in a way that reflects moral principles to the fullest possible extent permitted by a tragically evil situation.

II

GUARD against self-righteousness and hatred which give impulse to the monstrosity of a holy war or a preventive war. We cannot overlook evils in others; in fact, we must condemn them. But the conviction of our implication in world guilt and the knowledge of what total global war means rule out any possibility of our ever being holy or of a preventive war ever being justified. If war should come, and God forbid that it may, it must be irrevocably thrust upon us by others than ourselves and every alternative recourse which our interpretation of God's will for man can entertain must first have been honestly explored.

III

GUARD against unilateral action which rejects a moral judgment as reflected by majority opinion in the UN. One hopeful factor in the UN decision to recommend military measures against aggression by North Korea was the emergence for the first time in history of international police action, imperfect though that recognizedly was. That new factor must be retained and improved. The General Assembly, by action on November 3, has invited each member of the UN to maintain in its national armed forces elements for service as a UN unit or units. If military forces stronger than those now operating in Korea are needed, they should be provided in accordance with this action of the UN. If when all such designated forces have been made available even more are needed, additional forces should be provided within that same framework. The United States as a government of preponderant power must submit its actions to international consideration and decision. The day when any one country has the right by itself to declare war on another is past.

IV

GUARD against false pride and face-saving tendencies which close the door to open-minded and effective negotiation. We must be constantly willing to review our policies, especially as they apply to particular situations. For example, an original commitment may have called for military action embracing all Korea. Alternate possibilities should not be arbitrarily discarded, such as the creation of a buffer strip to be controlled by the UN for a cooling-off period. Great importance must in this connection be attached to the offers by intermediate or small Governments to negotiate differences between the major powers.

Moreover, other nations respect us when we respond to such proposals by the U.S.S.R. as hold promise of offering effective solutions. The mood of the United States Congress will be a crucial factor in determining what our foreign policy can be, and public opinion should make unmistakably clear that critical international issues must be settled on merit and not become the football of party politics.

V

GUARD against complacency which comes with increasing military strength and which may bring a disposition to risk an incident or even to create an incident for inciting conflict on a world scale. The United States must indicate readiness to expose its action to impartial scrutiny. The UN has provided a medium for this by setting up a Peace Observation Commission to be located at every potential danger spot throughout the world, a plan that was originally proposed by the Churches' Commission on International Affairs. With the accusations and counteraccusations on rearmament by occupying powers in the Eastern and Western zones, Germany is in a critical position so long as the tensions between the Soviet Government and the Western Powers continue. It offers a logical point at which to inaugurate the Peace Observation Commission's operations. Informal conversations with church and political leaders in Western Germany reveal that such a commission would be welcome. It should be located in both the Eastern and Western zones but could serve a useful purpose even if its establishment were limited to the Western zone. The United States can demonstrate readiness to expose its actions in Germany to international scrutiny by taking the initiative in calling for a Peace Observation Commission in both the Eastern and Western zones and by agreeing to the operation of such a Commission in the Western zone, no matter what the decision by the U.S.S.R. may be. Once the start has been made, similar commissions can be located in other areas.

VI

GUARD against making our economy so dependent upon military production as to give the impression that we are unprepared to recognize the importance of economic health throughout the world. The President of the United States has expressed before the UN our desire to achieve a real disarmament which will include all kinds of weapons, be based on unanimous agreement, and be foolproof. He has further held out the hope that our armaments would be transferred into food, medicine, tools for use in underdeveloped areas, and into other aids for human advancement. Numerous leaders in the United States have publicly professed that our war preparations are designed in the interest of peace.

So long as the marginal possibility of averting war remains, these commitments must be kept prominently before the world. We must let it be known that we have not forgotten our promises and that we continue to study ways whereby the goal of diverting our resources to constructive enterprises may be achieved. In so doing we would provide much-needed assurance to our own people and to the people and Governments of every country throughout the world. At all times we must indicate our willingness to beat swords into plowshares at any moment when reconciliation has reached the point of providing convincing evidences that aggression need no longer be feared.

VII

GUARD against the prejudice which refuses to see the evils in a situation that is predominantly good and thus deserving of support. Rarely if ever is one party to a dispute entirely right and the other entirely wrong. Few situations may be described as completely "black and white." The mixture of good and the evil which characterized virtually every international issue is a substantial obstacle to effective solutions. Christians must be particularly vigilant in making sharp distinctions so that, in supporting a predominantly just cause, they will not condone the injustices which are inherent or which emerge in the situation.

Many illustrations could be cited. I mention only one. When the Churches commended the UN action in Korea they felt justified because two new factors had appeared—the presence on the scene of a neutral international commission and the effort to take action by international police measures. This commendation may in no sense be taken as a cloak to cover subsequent mistakes or injustices. Christians must now insist that (1) the benefits of the land reforms that were effected in North Korea must be conserved, granted that the injustices which these reforms brought about must not go unheeded; (2) the principles of justice and law as relating to reported atrocities must be equally applied in North and in South Korea; and (3) provisions must be made for North Koreans freely to exercise their electoral right in determining the government of a free and unified Korea. Such impartiality is incumbent upon Christians if they seek a just settlement of world issues. Clear-cut political planning along the lines would tend to ease many fears.

VIII

GUARD against impatience in seeking a sound conclusion of the world's present plight. Americans by tradition want to get a job done quickly and to have it out of the way.

If we are bent upon creating a world atmosphere in which conflicting ideologies can compete peacefully, we cannot expect a speedy conclusion. It is in large part this lack of patience that makes some people contend that Communism can be successfully combated by military action. The result of a global war, even though we were victorious, would probably be to spread Communism far more quickly and widely than has been possible through Soviet tactics of coercion, infiltration, revolution, and deceit.

We must be prepared in patience to persevere in what may continue to be a long-drawn-out struggle. In this connection two lines of activity are imperative. Because of their intrinsic merit they would be imperative even if there were no need to oppose Communism. The program of economic assistance to underdeveloped areas of Africa, Asia, and the Far East is the only just and effective answer to the upsurging demand for independence and for an acceptable standard of living. Equally important is the universal observation of human rights and fundamental freedoms. We must guard against the totalitarian methods which we condemn in others, set an example of true democracy in our domestic practice, and speed the completion of an adequate International Covenant on Human Rights.

Measures such as these require patience and their fruits are not always readily apparent. Nevertheless their inherent rightness calls for patient continuance in well-doing.

Conclusion

I have sought to outline for you certain measures which it is within our power to undertake. If time permitted, the illustrations I have cited could be further developed and other measures added. I do not presume to say that these steps will prove effective. I recognize that full catastrophe may break upon the world at any time. Nevertheless I make bold to contend for my fundamental thesis. So long as there remains even a marginal possibility of averting total global war, we must utilize every means that will not betray conviction or offend conscience. In this process and even if war should come, we must penetrate the artificial curtains by which we are momentarily separated and experience the bonds of humanity and faith which unite men of nations and races.

The struggle for peace must go forward unremittingly and men must be driven by the conviction that the peace can yet be won. In these trying days and always, we pray God, through Jesus Christ our Lord, for the faith which will enable us to stand in face of principalities and powers of darkness. From him alone can come strength to make the expression of our faith adequate for the needs of our day.

CHURCH AND ECONOMIC LIFE WEEK

January 14-20, 1951

FOUR hundred churchmen representing industry, business, labor, consumer, and farmers' groups gathered at the Detroit Conference on the Church and Economic Life, 1950. They studied our present economic ills and said:

"The gospel is concerned with all the activities of man, individual and social. Therefore the Christian faith is relevant to the economic order. The Church, as the custodian of 'the sacred and imperishable message of eternal salvation,' is charged with a fourfold duty as Christians in fellowship confront the economic life. It must be the teacher of the principles of conduct; a voice of judgment; a guardian of moral and spiritual values already won; and the herald of a better day."

This fourfold duty of Christians can be emphasized by local churches, councils of churches, and community groups in the following ways as they observe Church and Economic Life Week:

- **Include economic concerns in sermons** and services of worship, adult Bible classes, young adult fellowship groups. Invite representatives of trade-unions, boards of trade, and the chamber of commerce to worship in your church.

- **Plan special midweek meetings** of churches and councils of churches to discuss the four major reports of the Detroit Conference on the Church and Economic Life, or to discuss the Social Pronouncements of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church, U.S.A., on economic problems and issues, and the pronouncements of other denominations.

- **Organize a church-wide forum** to consider these six tests of a Christian economic order:

1. *Opportunity for maximum employment.* Through his work a man provides for himself and family and makes a major part of his contribution to society. A nation's spiritual, physical, and emotional health depends upon maximum employment. In an industrialized society, the right to work is of equal importance with the right to free speech, free assembly, and other freedoms.

2. *The fullest possible use of a nation's capacity to provide goods and services.* The common people believe that under modern conditions a substandard level of living is technically unnecessary. Restrictive practices on production, whether by management, labor, farmers, or Government, are no solution in a world where suffering and privation thwart the attainment of the abundant life.

3. *The brotherly distribution of economic goods and services.* The payment of a socially adequate wage should be the first charge against the earnings of any business enterprise. Christian virtue in economic life lies in broadening the base for the use of goods and services until the bounty of God has been made available to all for whom he provides it.

4. *The abolition of fear of want.* The specters of socially induced poverty, disease, and hunger have long haunted the workingman. They have kept him from satisfaction in his work, have marred his social relationship, and have impaired his

spiritual freedom. Some measure of economic security is essential if more significant levels of life are to be attained.

5. *The recognition and practice of the essential equality of all men.* "In Christ there is neither Jew nor Greek, male nor female, bond nor free" is a mandate for the market place. Christian democracy cannot tolerate the discrimination that bars men from jobs and training for jobs and often prevents merited promotion. Christians must rise and cast out this modern expression of paganism, which blights progress and makes us suspect to three fourths of the world's peoples.

6. *A recognition of the economic interdependence of nations.* Man's oneness in God is revealed by every scientific advance that draws the nations closer together. An international economic order is an essential for security and peace. Christian people must learn to see that imperialist ambition, the exploitation of weak peoples, the creation of discriminatory tariffs and quotas, etc., defeat the creation of international fellowship and insure wars. The pattern of international co-operation, which is represented by the International Labor Office in regard to industrial relations and the well-being of the employee throughout the world, needs to be strengthened and extended. From the Church must come leadership toward some form of international supervision and control of the world's economic life.

- **Study the economic practices of your own church**—its purchasing policies, employment practices (salaries, sick leave, vacations for sexton, church secretary, and other employees), stand on public issues.

- **Discuss the economic role and responsibilities of Christian women** as buyers, sellers, workers, employers, and citizens. See *Thine Is the Power*, the report of the 1950 National Meeting of Presbyterian Women's Organizations, available at 50 cents through Presbyterian Distribution Service, and *Our Daily Bread*, available from the United Council of Church Women at 15 cents.

- **Sponsor a community-wide conference** in co-operation with the council of churches patterned after the Detroit Study Conference. For help on planning and conducting your "Little Detroit" conference write the Department of the Church and Economic Life, National Council of Churches of Christ in America, 297 Fourth Avenue, New York 10, New York.

- **Urge groups of church leaders to visit** the January meetings of various economic groups in the community—the chamber of commerce, the Central Trades and Labor Council (A.F.L.), the Industrial Union Council (C.I.O.), the Board of Trade, local co-operatives, Granges. Take this opportunity to interpret the Social Pronouncements of the Presbyterian Church for economic justice, and the Reports of the Detroit Study Conference.

- **Call together leaders of local churches, civic groups, and welfare agencies** to consider the effects of the current inflation on the welfare of children, the aged, and family life, and the adequacy of private and public policies and resources for meeting these needs, and measures which church people should support in the light of the above situation.

- **Arrange displays of books and pamphlets** dealing with economic issues and the economic responsibilities of Christians in your church and in the public library.

- **Enlist the co-operation of newspaper editors and radio station managers** in publicizing the objectives of Church and Economic Life Week and its observance in your church and community.

For many more program suggestions be sure to read " . . . *The Herald of a Better Day*," free pamphlet available from the Department of the Church and Economic Life, National Council of Churches, 297 Fourth Avenue, New York 10, New York.

CITIZENSHIP

"Uniting for Peace"

Last month's issue of Social Progress explained the provisions of the resolution empowering the General Assembly, in the event of a deadlock in the Security Council, to deal with aggression. This resolution, bearing a new title, "Uniting for Peace," has been approved by the UN General Assembly by a majority vote of 52. The only opposing votes were cast by the Soviet Union, the Ukraine, White Russia, Poland, and Czechoslovakia. India and Argentina abstained because they questioned the legality of parts of the resolution.

Without doubt, this is the most significant action ever taken by the General Assembly. There is no veto in the General Assembly. Here, too, all the smaller states have a voice, as they do not have in the Security Council. The will of the majority, in matters pertaining to the maintenance of peace, can no longer be thwarted by the obstructionist tactics of any one of the Big Powers.

Excess Profits Tax

When the Revenue Act of 1950 was passed in September, Congress voted to consider an excess profits tax after the elections.

On December 5 the House overwhelmingly approved a 75 per cent corporate excess profits tax, retroactive to July 1, to raise three of the four billion dollars requested by the Administration. The vote was 378 to 20. At press time hearings on a similar bill are under way in the Senate Finance Committee.

The excess profits tax is presumably a special tax on those profits which are in excess of "fair" profits. Such a tax seems particularly proper to a war or defense situation when rising prices result in "windfall" gains to some, while others are making unusual sacrifices, and when competitive checks to extraordinary profits are largely in abeyance.

The World War II tax set 1937-1939 as a base period, and profits in excess of those during the base period were classified as excess profits and taxable at a rate of 95 per cent. It seemed that the profits were, indeed, taken out of war. However, it was found that the tax operated quite unequally in different cases and was extremely difficult to apply fairly.

More important even than the difficulty of achieving fair treatment of the application of an excess profits tax was its inflationary effect. Businesses naturally increase their expenditures on advertising and other "costs" in order to avoid the high rate of taxation. This means waste of man power and materials at a time when it is one of the Government's primary concerns to curb unnecessary expenditures and improve efficiency.

The new House bill imposes a 75 per cent levy on earnings in excess of 85 per cent of a corporation's average earnings during its most profitable three years from 1946 to 1948. In addition, it fixes a ceiling of 67 per cent on total taxes the Government could collect from any corporation in regular income and profits tax.

The bill also gives corporations the right to choose an optional excess profits tax formula based on inverted capital.

An optional formula would allow returns before taxes of 12 per cent on the first $5,000,000 of invested capital, 10 per cent of the next $5,000,000, and 8 per cent on all capital above $10,000,000. Interest on borrowed capital would be deductable from current income. In addition, up to 3 per cent of a corporation's borrowed capital could be counted as part of its investment capital.

The bill also contains a number of "escape" clauses designed to prevent undue hardship. Publicly regulated utilities and intrastate transportation would be allowed a return of 6 per cent on equity, borrowed capital, and retained earnings. Companies earning less than $25,000 would be exempt from excess profits taxes.

Summary of Principal Provisions of the Social Security Act Amendments of 1950

The new law makes thirty major changes in the programs established under the Social Security Act of 1937. It extends compulsory coverage under old-age and survivors insurance to about 7½ million persons; and voluntary coverage will be available for about 2 million employees of state and local Governments and nonprofit organizations. The new coverage will be effective January 1, 1951. The law also defines an employee as "any individual who, under the usual common law rules applicable in determining the employer-employee relationship, has the status of an employee," and also covers as employees (1) full-time life insurance salesmen, (2) certain agent drivers or commission drivers engaged in distributing food products or cleaning services, (3) certain full-time traveling or city salesmen, and (4) industrial homeworkers who earn at least $50 in a calendar quarter if they are subject to regulation under state law and work in accordance with specifications prescribed by the employer.

Some major changes in the Federal old-age and survivors insurance program are:

1. Extension of coverage to self-employed persons other than farmers and certain professional persons.
2. Coverage of regularly employed agricultural workers, including certain borderline farm workers, such as processing workers.
3. Coverage of approximately 1 million regularly employed domestic workers.
4. Coverage of state and local Government employees not members of retirement systems, through voluntary agreements between the state and the Federal Government.
5. Coverage of certain Federal employees not covered under retirement systems.
6. Provision for voluntary coverage of employees of nonprofit organizations at the option of the employer and the employees with these stipulations:
   a. If the employer does not agree to pay his share of the contribution, the employees cannot be covered.
   b. Even if the employer agrees to pay his share, none of the employees can be covered unless two thirds of them accept coverage.
   c. If two thirds or more of the employees accept coverage, those employees who do so, plus any employees hired in the future, will be covered.
   d. Coverage must be for an initial period of at least 8 years, and in addition 2 years' advance notice must be given before coverage can be terminated. Thus the minimum period of coverage is 10 years.
   Ministers and members of religious orders will continue to be excluded.
7. A substantial liberalization of the benefit formula for future beneficiaries.
8. Elimination of the increase in benefits for years of contributions to the insurance program.
9. Liberalization of the method of computing "average monthly wage" for benefit purposes.
10. Increase in the wage base for benefit and contribution purposes from $3,000 to $3,600.
11. A substantial increase in benefits for current beneficiaries, averaging 77½ per cent.
12. Liberalization of the eligibility provisions so as to make it easier for persons to qualify for benefits within the next decade.
13. Payment of benefits to dependent husbands and widowers of insured women workers.

14. Liberalization of survivors' insurance benefits with respect to insured married women.
15. Payment of the lump sum death benefit in all cases of insured deceased workers.
16. Increase in the benefits for dependent parents and for the first child in a family from 50 per cent to 75 per cent of the primary insurance benefit.
17. Increase in the amount a beneficiary may earn in covered employment without loss of benefits from $14.99 to $50, and elimination of the retirement test at age 75.
18. Provision of wage credits of $160 for each month of military service during World War II.

- *Benefit Amounts*

Under the new law the old minimum primary benefit of $10 is increased to $25, except that for those with wages averaging under $35 per month the minimum may be as low as $20. The old maximum family benefit of $85 is increased to $150 (but not more than 80 per cent of the average monthly wage).

Under the new formula, average benefit amounts in the next decade will be about 110 per cent higher than under the old law. Benefits based on the new benefit formula will be paid in May, 1952.

- *Eligibility for Benefits*

Under the new law future eligibility requirements are greatly liberalized by requiring quarters of coverage for only one half of the number of quarters since 1950, instead of since 1936 as under the old law. Quarters of coverage earned before 1951 may be counted toward the requirement. Thus a person aged 62 or over on January 1, 1950, will be fully insured for benefits at age 65 if he has at least six quarters of coverage acquired at any time. The maximum requirement for fully insured status remains at 40 quarters of coverage, and the minimum at 6 quarters, as in the old law, and a quarter of coverage is a calendar quarter with $50 or more in wages.

This liberalization will enable many people now 65 or over to draw retirement benefits immediately, and also will enable the newly covered groups to qualify much more quickly. About 500,000 additional persons will be paid benefits in the first year of operation.

- *Financing of Old-age and Survivors Insurance*

The limit on total annual earnings on which benefits are computed and contributions paid has been increased from $3,000 to $3,600.

Under the new law employers and employees will continue to share equally. The rate on each will be as follows:

Calendar Years	Rate (%)
1950-1953	1½
1954-1959	2
1960-1964	2½
1965-1969	3
1970 and thereafter	3¼

The self-employed will pay 1½ times the above rates.

The level premium cost (on an intermediate basis) of the program as amended by the new law is about 6 per cent of payroll, as compared with about 4½ per cent under the old law.

- *Public Assistance*

The new law establishes a program of Federal grants-in-aid (Title XIV) for aid to the needy permanently and totally disabled. The matching formula for this category is the same as is provided for old-age assistance and aid to the blind payments, i.e., three quarters of the first $20 of a state's average monthly payment per recipient, plus one half of the remainder, within individual maximums of $50. It also increases substantially the Federal grants to states for Maternal and Child Health Services, Child Welfare Services, and Services for Crippled Children.

Worth Looking Into

The National Committee for Resettlement of Displaced Professionals to help American employers recruit professional and skilled D.P.'s to fill current U.S. labor shortages. The committee was formed and financed jointly by the four major resettlement agencies now sponsoring qualified Displaced Persons for admission to the United States. These agencies include: Church World Service, War Relief Services—National Catholic Welfare Conference, National Lutheran Council, and United Services for New Americans.

The new National Committee for Displaced Professionals has the official cooperation of both the U.S. Displaced Persons Commission and the International Refugee Organization.

It is the aim of the committee first to determine what skills American employers want, to help employers to have the Displaced Persons with these desired skills on the job as soon as possible. Among the Displaced Persons are workers with particularly all of the skills listed as "critical" by both the Departments of National Defense and Labor.

The committee will receive requests from industrial employers desiring workers with special skills. The National Committee will determine what trained D.P.'s now in the Displaced Persons camps of Germany are qualified to fill these jobs. The resettlement agencies will then be requested to bring to the U.S. those who meet employers' specifications.

Employers may obtain further information on the services of the new committee from its offices, 150 East 35th Street, New York, New York. Its pamphlet, entitled *A New Pool,* is available free upon request.

Which Way to World Government? by Alfred M. Lilienthal. No. 83, Headline Series, Foreign Policy Association. 35 cents. A Washington attorney analyzes current proposals for world organization and presents readable and useful information about their sponsors and purposes. The quest for world order that began as early as the fourteenth century with Pierre Dubois' advocacy of a plan to unite the world is continued by the present-day advocates of the organizations described in this pamphlet. These include the American Committee on United Europe, the Atlantic Union Committee, the Citizens Committee for United Nations Reform (the sponsors of Ely Culbertson's "ABC" plan), United World Federalists, and others. A short directory of organizations working for world organization appears at the back of the pamphlet.

The Voting Records of Your Congressmen. Free copies of the voting records of members of the 81st Congress are available from the Division of Social Education and Action, 830 Witherspoon Building, Philadelphia 7, Pennsylvania. The records list the votes of Senators and Representatives on sixteen pieces of legislation of concern to churchmen. Study your Congressmen's records in the coming months as the 82d Congress is in session.

***Fortune's* article "Is Anybody Listening?"** (September, 1950), the first of a series on the problems of business communication. *Fortune's* editors worked for eight months in the preparation of the series, interviewing social scientists, psychologists, advertising and public relations men, and many business executives.

The New Worship and Program Materials for Race Relations Sunday. "All Men Are Brothers" is the theme for the nation-wide observance of Race Relations Sunday, February 11, 1951. Packets, 10 cents each, from Presbyterian Distribution Service.

Sanctuary

Economic Life

Call to Worship:

"The earth is the Lord's, and the fulness thereof; the world, and they that dwell therein."—*Psalm 24:1.*

"Thou shalt remember the Lord thy God, for it is he that giveth thee power to get wealth."—*Deuteronomy 8:18.*

Invocation:

Eternal God, in whom we live and move and have our being, thou who art the real owner of the earth with all its fullness, and would have it used to thy honor and glory and the well-being of thy people, we who are thy stewards and husbandmen come to thee to learn of thee, that we in our husbandry may bring forth fruits worthy of thy Kingdom and may in thy judgment be faithful and wise stewards. Teach us thy ways that we may walk in thy paths. This we ask in the name of the Saviour who taught the awfulness of economic sin. Amen.

Hymn of Praise: "Lift Up Our Hearts, O King of Kings."

Scripture: Isaiah 58:6-12; Matthew 6:19-34; 25:31-46.

Meditation:

The interest of God in economic matters, the production, distribution, and consumption of wealth, is clearly shown by the Scriptures. Indeed they show that he himself is the great economist. He is the creator, owner, and judge of all; he is the great maker of laws, including economic laws; he has commanded how the wealth of the world shall be used and he holds men accountable.

Note the inspiring promises of Isaiah, ch. 58. The very things for which men long today—light and healing and strength that will make us like watered gardens and builders of the old waste places, raisers of the foundations of many generations, repairers of the breach, and restorers of the paths to dwell in—are promised by God to people who meet certain conditions. The feeding of the hungry, the housing of the poor, and the clothing of the naked are specifically enjoined, and all these are economic functions. Many of the bonds and yokes that bind and restrict people are economic, and much of the oppression that burdens them is from their economic want and insecurity. We who would follow Him who is about his Father's business must see to these matters in our time. In this we must go beyond charity.

Our Lord's directive, "Seek ye first his kingdom, and his righteousness; and all these things shall be added unto you," is a clear command for Christians. He assures us that God's Kingdom and righteousness include the right use of food and clothing, production, distribution, and consumption of material things so that men are free from anxiety over them.

The supreme importance in these economic matters was forcefully and definitely stated by our Lord in his vivid picture of the judgment. Here the basis of judgment, the thing that determines whether one is received and blessed of the Father or sent away into punishment, is whether or not he has fed, clothed, and cared for even the least of Christ's brethren. It is to be noted that all the nations were there, making the area of our economic concern the whole world.

Scripture thus makes it clear that we ourselves are blessed when we see to it that people are fed, clothed, housed, and healed. It is our God-given duty to break bonds and lift yokes and to free the oppressed. Those who have Christian faith, those who truly believe the Scriptures and the Lord of the Scriptures, will do what they can about these matters. They will know that this is not to deny that men are saved by faith, but rather that this is to be true to the faith that does save. To fail to do this will bring them under the condemnation of our Lord when he said, "Not every one that saith unto me, Lord, Lord, shall enter into the kingdom of heaven; but he that doeth the will of my Father who is in heaven." Many who have even done many mighty works in his name are unknown to him, but to those who feed even his least, he says, "Come, ye blessed of my Father."

There is urgent need that more attention be given to this part of the Church's work, that we all seek more understanding of economic life, and that we work together toward Christian solutions of our economic problems.

Prayer:

God, grant us wisdom and courage that we be not conformed to this world, but that we be transformed by the renewing of our mind, that we may prove what is that good and acceptable and perfect will of thine. Amen.

Hymn: "Lead On, O King Eternal."

Benediction:

"The God of peace, that brought again from the dead our Lord Jesus, that great shepherd of the sheep, through the blood of the everlasting covenant, make you perfect in every good work to do his will, working in you that which is well-pleasing in his sight, through Jesus Christ; to whom be glory for ever and ever. Amen."

Prepared by Rev. R. Murray Jones, pastor, First Presbyterian Church, Inglewood, California.

About Books

Democracy in Politics and Economics, by Charles P. Taft. Farrar, Straus & Company. $2.00.

Three lectures delivered at the Rice Institute in Houston, Texas, in April, 1949, by Mr. Taft are published in this volume. They represent the philosophy of a layman in government, economics, and politics, with some comments on the failure of our educational system to prepare students to know and understand the Christian values in their application to modern life.

The first lecture deals with the contribution that Christian ideals have made to the historic development of modern democracy and the great doctrine of human equality—a subject deserving of much more research than the political scientists and law writers of modern times have given to it. This idealism appears in the medieval theory of co-operation of all classes under the rule of community law; in the Puritan Revolution in England and in the influence of many small, independent religious denominations, some of them calling themselves "Levelers"; in the recognition that each member of a community must make a contribution to the good of the community; and in the development of the method of full and free discussion among men of good will seeking God's purpose.

Two solutions are suggested for the problem of handling complicated technical questions in a true representative government. In the first, Mr. Taft follows Burke with the idea that we must seek ways to make "the representatives, the rulers pro tem between elections, responsible men, conscious of values, eager to apply them in reaching sound decisions in the public interest." Secondly, he urges the practice of "free and inquiring discussion among equals, seeking to satisfy and convince each other and to secure a uniting spirit in seeking God together." This procedure naturally involves give-and-take, patience, and mutual respect, and what some would call compromise or appeasement. Nonetheless, the heat of our national or international quarrels must not destroy the cool logic of Mr. Taft's argument.

Mr. Taft's second lecture is a most interesting presentation of the application of these democratic and Christian principles of free discussion to great corporations, to the interaction of pressure groups in a single community, and to the building of good labor relations. He faces frankly the central difficulty. "How do you achieve the conference process when a person is bound down to his party line and can concede nothing because he is not an individual, but a spokesman for a group?" He says you do not achieve anything until the individuals concerned have not only a determination to speak their own conscience but a purpose to achieve unity in seeking God. Mr. Taft is speaking not theologically but sociologically. Managers, labor leaders, all concerned with the adjustment of difficulties must first accept the principle of the co-operation of all classes for the good of the community, and thereafter by fair compromise peace can be achieved.

The third lecture concerns the question, What has our educational system done to prepare students for the complexities of the organizations in which they will take part and for the understanding of the values that hold us straight? Like many critics of our educational system, Mr. Taft blames the schools and the colleges for defects that are primarily due to an adult community into which the college graduate goes. It is the adult community that needs continual education, continual preaching, and some protection against the destructive press, radio, and economic groups that have little use for the free and full discussion and fair compromise of which Mr. Taft writes. Admittedly, the college curriculum needs frequent overhauling, and new methods of conveying the underlying Christian philosophy of our government and our society must be found. Many colleges are working at this problem. Mr. Taft has properly insisted that the colleges must prepare our most intelligent young men and women for the kind of secular world crowded with moral problems which they must face. We must also prepare the community for that kind of free discussion which alone can bring truth to light and peace into reality.

—Charles J. Turck.

Families Under Stress, by Reuben Hill. Harper & Brothers. $4.50.

To understand how families react in times of crisis was the project of Reuben Hill and his collaborators. They went to Iowa, chose 820 families for their study, and began to investigate how they had stood up under a crisis that had been common to them all—the breakup of family life experienced during World War II.

When the project had ended, only 135 families were still included in the study. Although "Iowa's climate is better suited for the growing of corn than for family living," the families sampled seem to have stood up reasonably well under stress.

Sociological research has a way of turning up evidence that disputes some of our long-held convictions. Certainly the interviews with these families upset some generalized opinions which have been held by large numbers of Americans. It was learned, for instance, that interfaith marriages survived the crisis of war separation fully as well as in-faith marriages. Romantic love between the parents, it was determined, had contributed but little to the integration and strength of the family in facing a period of stress.

The sociologist's table and case history, usually used separately, are combined in this book. The statistics have been used wherever the family characteristics are static enough to be so expressed. Case histories have been used to interpret the more dynamic family patterns. The two methods checked against each other and proved to be in remarkable agreement when used independently on the same subjects. One noticeable contradiction is nonetheless apparent: Page 126 with Chart VII reports a puzzling conclusion, that families who have a greater number of children had a more difficult experience in adjusting to the crises of war separation and reunion. This, it is explained, is because children are burdensome; and in greater numbers they produce complications. Page 260, which is in a section of case histories, provides, on the other hand, this sentence: "There was no relationship between the number of children in the family and the type of adjustment made either to separation or reunion." However, the authors believe that there is an "approaching marriage" between the case history method and the statistical method of social research. They feel they will have helped bring it about in *Families Under Stress.*

—J. C. Wynn.

Human Rights, a Work Kit for Organizations and Communities, prepared by the U. S. National Commission for UNESCO, U. S. Department of State, Washington, D. C. Free.

This packet is really a gold mine of ideas and practical program suggestions. Posters, a film list, a radio script, Montclair's report of its community audit, a selection of human rights documents and statements of the world's great statesmen and philosophers are only a few of the wonders the work kit contains.

Annual Message for Race Relations Sunday

February 11, 1951

"God that made the world and all things therein . . . hath made of one blood all nations of men for to dwell on all the face of the earth, and hath determined the times before appointed, and the bounds of their habitation."—Acts 17: 24, 26.

ALL MEN ARE BROTHERS. This is not a statement of a pious hope nor an idealistic goal. It is the statement of a fact. Time's moving finger writes for all to read that when men fail to act as brothers they violate the laws of God. Men who deny true kinship with their fellow men, all fellow men, find themselves at odds with their own destiny.

The world is waking to the claims of brotherhood. The scientists declare that all men are one species. Science gives no sanction to the myth of race, no defense for prejudice. The statesmen of the world sense the significance of man's "unalienable rights" to life, his right to eat, to work, to dwell in safety and in peace. In East and West the globe stirs with the strivings of men whose manhood seeks to claim full status in the sight of God and men. Men everywhere assert their right to be real persons, not chattels, not underlings, but equals, brothers, self-respecting, free. Even the dictators win their dire power by promising collective strength to guarantee men's rights.

And what do Christians do about this driving urge toward status? Some give it motive power by acting like the brothers that they are. Too many others live as though it were not true that all men are the sons of God who made men of one blood. Too many talk of love but live in isolation from their brother men. Too many scorn their fellows, dealing with them as "lesser breeds without the law" of God's creative love. Too many draw apart in man-made boundaries, excluding men they will not claim as kin because those men have different features, different skin and hair.

Yet Christians are the guardians of the truth that all men are the sons of God and cannot but be brothers. If we took that truth as literal, if we acknowledged kinship with all men, we could provide a groping world with light for solving problems yet unsolved. We shall not all agree on how our brotherhood should be expressed; we shall dispute the merits of this covenant or that; there will be those who in good faith vote yea on bills that call forth others' nays. But Christians have a standard for their choice. If they would make all judgments in the light of what would serve a brother's need, they would, indeed, lead on to righteousness.

The Christian who believes that men are the sons of God will not deal with them as things, pawns in his game, mere units in his shop. Men are not tools for other men. Men are each other's brothers. What serves one at the cost of others' welfare cannot be the will of God, who loves them all. Until men find a way of life that gives to all men opportunity to be their best we cannot have the blessing of true peace. This is a law of nature binding men as truly as other laws of nature bind the stars, for He "that made the world and all things therein . . . hath made of one blood all nations of men," and God is love.

Those who dare to claim God's love are challenged to discover how God's will for all his sons can be fulfilled. This is no easy task. The tangled skein of our relationships tempts us to take no action lest we do something wrong. Some men will greet acts of good will with fear, resentment, or treachery. But men of God are not deterred by human obstacles. In patience and in faith they seek the way in which God's will for man can be expressed. They know God's will is done by little men who grow to greatness as they work with him to make their lives reveal God's law of brotherhood. All men are brothers. God has so decreed.

—Written by Mrs. Douglas Horton, Vice-President of the National Council for the Department of Race Relations, and adopted by the Executive Committee.

One Great Time of Sharing

The bitter tragedy of war in Korea has brought horror and suffering to Korean Christians and devastation to Christian churches and institutions. Letters from our overseas leaders and current church publications record a chaos that we can only dimly comprehend.

As the Lenten season begins we have a great opportunity to express our compassion for the sufferers in war's grim wake in Korea, Asia, Europe, and the Near East. We can participate in the 1951 Lenten Sacrifice Offering, "One Great Time of Sharing," which will begin on February 4 and culminate on March 11 when major Protestant denominations join with our Presbyterian churches in this united appeal for overseas relief.

Will your family have a share in this Lenten sacrifice? What can you do to aid your church in preparing for "One Great Time of Sharing"?

DEMOCRACY'S ZERO HOUR—SUNDAY AT ELEVEN

By **ROBERT PIERRE JOHNSON**, ***Field Representative of the Interboard Commission of the Presbyterian Church, U.S.A.***

AT ELEVEN o'clock on a Sunday morning the Protestant people in the United States divide more conspicuously than at any other time. Sixty million white churchmen go to their churches and six and one half black churchmen go to theirs. Of course this is done quite unconsciously for the most part and without malice. It is simply in conformity to a long-established practice. One who has worshiped at these racial churches will acknowledge that for the most part the Negro churches are smaller and less adequately equipped, with poorly kept grounds and surroundings. They often seem more like orphan or stepchild churches than like brother or sister churches in the Protestant Church family.

There are exceptions, but honesty requires the admission that most Negro churches are poor by contrast with white ones. Seldom can their congregations afford adequate staff, with the result that the program of education, the music for public worship, and the many activities essential to well-organized church life are frequently shabbily planned and as shabbily executed.

The Negro minister is a true pastor—the shepherd of his flock. He is the race leader as well, deeply involved in community affairs and economic and political matters. Negro churchmen turn to their pastor for all kinds of practical help—for a job, a place to live, for counsel about a health problem. Therefore, the ministers hardly ever have the time necessary for the proper preparation of sermons, or the best oversight of their flocks. Regardless of the denomination, this condition is patent and varies little from church to church.

On the other side of the racial fence the picture is usually different. For one thing, there are fewer churches and these are usually better equipped and better cared for. Except in the smallest, there is more apt to be an adequate staff, and the over-all support of the program is on a much higher level of per capita giving. Not so many demands are made on the pastor's time, and the pastors are freer to furnish their own minds and spirits with the things of the gospel, as well as to cultivate their people in the spiritualities of life.

No one has planned and prearranged these differences, nor does anyone who is Christian approve them. They are but the reflection of what life is like on the two sides of the color line. Thus they are symbols of contrasts which also obtain in Negro and white home life, Negro and white business establishments, Negro and white schools, hospitals, fraternal buildings, or wherever the two races have separate institutions. What has been planned, and in a sense accounts for these differences, is the deliberate process of restricting most Negroes to the lowest paying jobs in industry, in commerce, and agriculture, and of denying them upgrading long after they have proven themselves worthy of promotion. This is the cutting edge of segregation, and when it is applied sharply enough, the other differences in living follow automatically, whether it be church life or any other that is involved.

The Church's Impotence

It is this fact of segregation of the Negro in industry, commerce, agriculture that is the great obstacle to the Negro's rise in American life. And the tragedy of the churches is not that "only one half of one per cent of the Negro Protestant Christians of the United States worship regularly in churches with fellow Christians of another race," as lamentable as this is, but that the churches have been so silent about, and so impotent to change, such injustice to a whole people. It is this that Edwin R. Embree had in mind when he wrote:

> *"Nowhere has the gap between Christian ideals and the practice of the Church been wider than in the treatment of the Negroes. In America this is the great unsolved problem. Unless the Christian Church conquers the segregation it has allowed itself to fall into, it must lose its leadership in the spiritual and social life of America."*

The churches have been silent and impotent, however, largely because they have been segregated. So long as I can exercise the highest idealism of my life, and expose myself to the most rigorous scrutiny of ethical principles without seeing or feeling the pressure of those who are oppressed, how can I care enough about their predicament to identify myself with them, and make their cause mine? What if they are denied decent housing, and adequate job opportunities, and proper recreational facilities, and sufficient health protections? If they are not in my church, not being exposed to the same noble sentiments to which I am being exposed, not lifting their voices in prayers and adoration of God with me, not aspiring to the same excellent Christian vocations to which I am aspiring, not longing for their children to be spiritually nurtured as I am longing for my children, how can I regard them as my equals, or labor for them and theirs as my brothers?

What Is Segregation Doing to Our Churches?

But someone will protest: Do not the Negroes prefer their own churches? The answer, unfortunately, is yes. If Pavlov's dogs could be conditioned to salivate at the mere ringing of a bell after a brief period of training, it is not strange that Negroes can be conditioned to make an abnormal choice after almost 350 years of conditioning in America. At best, however, the question is poorly phrased. What Negroes or whites prefer is not the issue. The issue is, What is segregation doing to our churches and to those of us who worship in them?

First and foremost, it is blinding us to grave and horrible conditions that obtain in the name of the churches. We have church schools without a Negro student or faculty member on their campuses. We have church hospitals that restrict Negro patients to a single ward or a single floor. We have churches where Negroes could not enjoy membership however much they desired it. And we have church neighborhood houses located in neighborhoods where Negroes live, but in which they cannot have membership or participate as equals. In all these ways the iniquitous principle of segregation flows through our churches and out of them to corrupt the whole stream of democracy.

Secondly, segregated church life tends to become more and more exclusive. Cayton and Drake found in their study of the Negro in Chicago that many whites would keep Negroes out of their churches for the same reasons that they would keep them out of their bridge clubs, fraternities, or country clubs and hunting lodges. Thinking like this can easily lead the way to excluding people because of the twist of their tongue, or the weight of their purse, or any one of a half dozen other reasons irrelevant for church membership.

With segregation, the idea of parish life is dissipated, and both pastors and people are severely penalized. Instead of pastors being called to minister to a community as they should, they are called to minister to certain people of a community, or to minister to many communities in which their certain people live. Is there any wonder that they often become frustrated and that their noble ambitions for community uplift come to nought? No little self-contained congregation is strong enough to appeal to a pastor for long. A recent survey of the Protestant churches of a large metropolitan city showed that the average tenure for a pastor is four years.

And what of the people in such a church? Because religion becomes for them a thing apart, abstracted from the market place, the school, the cinema, and all the other contexts of neighborliness, it slides into a never-never world of unreality. Instead of being for them the great unifying principle of life that gives direction and stamina to their efforts, it becomes one more extracurricular activity to be indulged in when time permits.

Thirdly, there are many delusions about segregated church life, and many false ideas about the social traits of Negroes. Conversations with the pastors of two interracial churches recently brought this sharply to focus. The one a minister in California and the other a minister in Ohio both attest that contrary to popular opinion Negroes do not rush in to join as soon as it is announced that the church earnestly desires their membership. A survey of the Ohio church showed that its interracial policy was the chief attraction for only a negligible proportion of the members. What holds them is the richness of the worship and the opportunity for genuine fellowship. The California minister declared that though Negroes are fully integrated into the congregation's life, as officers, teachers in the church school, and otherwise rendering real service, the Negro members are as hard to hold as any others. This is as it should be, for Negroes are not different from any other people. Given certain social conditions they behave no better and no worse than any other persons in a similar situation.

Lastly, segregated church life is illusory. It gives to those who practice it a false sense of security and grandiose ideas about the truth of their convictions. Reinhold Niebuhr has repeatedly warned that it is the fate of dying cultures and civilizations to extend their particular vices to universal pretensions and thus hasten their death. The missionary zeal of the Protestant Church may boomerang and undo us in a world that has 450 million yellow Chinese, 350 million brown Indians, 150 million dark peoples of South Asia, the East Indies, and other Pacific islands, 120 million Latin Americans (many of whom are proud of their African and Indian ancestry as well as of their European blood), countless millions of black Africans, and 190 millions of Soviet Russia, who though godless confess to be diligently wiping out the color line.

Segregation's World-wide Impact

The true damage of segregated church life can be measured only in the present world crisis. If we fail with the billion and a half nonwhite people, our Western civilization is inescapably doomed. Christ will go marching on, conquering and unconquerable, but he will come quickly and remove the American churches' candlestick out of its place.

THE CIRCLE THAT DREW HIM IN

By **WILLIAM H. McCONAGHY,** *Minister, First Presbyterian Church, Syracuse, New York.*

"I NEVER thought that I would live to see the day when Negro and white ministers would come together in the South as we have here this week. For three days we have prayed and worked side by side, and only good has come from this great experience." This was the thoughtful comment of a Presbyterian minister to a colleague at the close of a Faith and Life Seminar. As he spoke, he was recalling the closing prayer circle, where he, a Negro, had clasped hands with two white brethren, one a minister in the Presbyterian Church, U.S., and the other a minister in the Presbyterian Church, U.S.A.

For many in that seminar group, "this great experience" of interracial fellowship marked the stirring of new hope, new awareness of Christ's Spirit and power in the lives of men. Though Christians have been separated by non-Christian customs and laws, barriers are crumbling fast across the Church. The brotherhood scene that is unusual today will be commonplace tomorrow.

It is still true that Presbyterian congregations largely follow the segregated pattern of worship and organizational church life. But increasing numbers of Presbyterian leaders are gathering for summer conferences and leadership schools, for curriculum previews, for caravan training and Westminster Fellowship assemblies and meeting as *one* fellowship. And this is the pattern of tomorrow's congregation.

Our march of emancipation from the bondage of racial exclusiveness got its major impetus in May, 1946, when the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church, U.S.A., became the first major denominational body to concur with the Federal Council of Churches in a most significant pronouncement for "a nonsegregated Church and a nonsegregated society." Presbyterians took this pronouncement seriously. It was not a lofty statement to be adopted and consigned to obscurity in the General Assembly minutes. It was a declaration of faith to be established in the practice of the Church.

So it was that our Church established the Institute on Racial and Cultural Relations to discover what local churches and Presbyterian institutions could do to fulfill General Assembly's goals. A grant from the Restoration Fund financed the project, which began its work February 1, 1948, for a three-year period.

The threefold purpose of the Institute on Racial and Cultural Relations was stated quite simply: (1) to provide the implementation of the General Assembly's pronouncements; (2) to aid and counsel church leaders in tension areas where conflict had occurred or threatened; and (3) to train churchmen in the techniques of Christian race relations.

The plan of organization provided for a coracial leadership—a director and an associate director, each with equal, or at least mutual, authority. The director has been the full-time, salaried officer of the Institute, with responsibility for the conduct of its office and current activities. The associate director has served part time, and without salary. The Institute has been responsible to the Interboard Commission through an Advisory Committee representing the Church at large and all four Boards. The Institute and its program have been administratively related to the Division of Social Education and Action.

Without reservation, the experiment appears to have been abundantly justified. It has revealed the loyalty and sincerity of purpose of Presbyterians. It has disclosed practical approaches to real problems. The three years that have passed so quickly have brought many blessed experiences of fellowship and have recorded a variety of efforts to shape a more wholesome society.

New Handbook

A handbook or manual of tested race relations techniques and procedures is being prepared. It records the methods that church leaders have found workable and wholesome. Enough churches have pioneered successfully in achieving inclusive membership so that a variety of techniques and recommendations are at hand.

This program aid should be most useful to ministers and church officers as they seek to bridge the human, social chasms that have so long divided Christian groups. Sections are also addressed to Church-related institutions.

Leaders for Inclusive Fellowship

A major Institute emphasis has been upon the training of leaders in churches and presbyteries and Church-related colleges and other institutions. These training conferences or Institute workshops have utilized the most effective procedures for adult education. Each has included informal discussion groups and panel presentations, individual study and research, presentation of new program materials, pamphlets, books, visual aids, each has stressed corporate or individual worship.

Ministers and lay leaders from all types of churches and all sections of the country and representing Negro, Oriental, and Caucasian groups, have attended these conferences. Church leaders who had problems to solve sat down with other leaders who had faced similar problems with some measure of success. Out of their creative exchange of ideas and insights came encouragement and understanding, a fresh approach there, new strategy here.

In the three-year period, seven conferences were held, involving 214 persons, 140 of whom were Presbyterians. Each conference has stimulated a variety of follow-up activities. For example, as a result of training at the Willow Grove, Pennsylvania, conference, in November, 1948, a local churchwoman from southern Ohio initiated a three-day race relations workshop for the Cincinnati Council of Church Women. This local training meeting focused the attention of church and civic leaders from southern Ohio and northern Kentucky on the area's problems of civil rights and lack of employment opportunities for Negroes. Following Willow Grove, another churchwoman inspired her husband, a faculty member at a Presbyterian seminary, to invite the directors of the Institute on Racial and Cultural Relations to hold a one-day conference on race relations for the seminary's entire student body and faculty.

A third Willow Grove delegate, a minister of a sizable church in Pennsylvania, organized with the aid of the local council of churches and his own church officers a most significant series of interfaith and interracial Sunday night worship services in which several churches now participate.

Interdenominational Institutes

A most satisfying and rewarding consequence growing out of the denominational meetings on race relations has been the establishment of such gatherings on an interdenominational basis under the sponsorship of the Race Relations Department of the National Council of Churches. The first interdenominational conference at Lincoln Seminary in 1949 documented the fact that no one denomination can be successful in stamping out segregation without the co-operation of other Churches. It also demonstrated what could be the results if churchmen worked together and had some training for the task. In 1950, two institutes were undertaken, one at Eden Seminary in St. Louis, Missouri, and the other at Lincoln.

Plans projected for 1951 call for three interdenominational gatherings, including one institute to be held on the West Coast. These will closely follow the pattern and plan of the original Presbyterian institutes which have already established a favorable reputation for significant leadership, creative procedures, and rewarding results. Registration will continue to be restricted to fifty qualified delegates, representing approximately fifteen denominations.

How Inclusive Is the Presbyterian Church?

The Presbyterian Church, U.S.A., has never known by actual survey of local churches what its record is for friendliness and brotherliness as a denomination. Questionnaires about racial groups included in our Church membership and the participation of minority groups in church schools and organizations have been sent to all Presbyterian ministers. The findings are being tabulated and analyzed, and a summary will be available at the General Assembly.

The project is part of a Protestant-wide study now under way, and the results of the study will have wide significance. Christian educators will have some index of the effectiveness of their teaching methods and materials. Preachers will have some standard by which to judge the influence of the spoken word. We shall know in what to take pride and in what to take heed.

Christian Strategy for FEPC

The program of the Institute has consistently stressed the need for informed, responsible Christian citizenship. Churchmen have been encouraged to attack the basic causes of racial injustice and to engage in legislative action that extends God's witness into the daily affairs and relationships of men. Civil rights legislation and measures to eliminate discrimination in housing, employment, and education have been carefully followed. The Institute has helped civic and church leaders in several states and cities in their efforts to secure FEPC legislation. Early in 1950 the Institute testified in Washington in Congressional hearings on proposed Federal fair employment legislation.

Before the United States Supreme Court declared against segregation in higher education and interstate transportation, the Supreme Court secretary requested copies of General Assembly pronouncements on race relations and of the findings of Institute workshops and conferences. The justices of our country's highest tribunal wanted to have the thinking of Christian churchmen.

What of the Future?

The results of the Institute's "laboratory" experimentation in the past three years will not be lost. The Board of Christian Education has made it possible for the Division of Social Education and Action to continue the program of race relations as one of its major emphases. Major attention will be given also at General Assembly to the report of the Institute and its Advisory Committee—not merely to receive the report and discharge the committee, but to give fresh impetus to our denomination's efforts to make inclusive fellowship an accepted article of our faith.

THE CHALLENGE OF COMMUNISM

By **REV. W. F. ZUURDEEG,** ***Instructor in Philosophy of Religion, McCormick Theological Seminary.***

WE CAN look at the problem of Communism in two different ways. One is to consider it merely as a power threatening all that is good—the independence of free nations, our democratic civilization, our Christian churches. Therefore it is a power to be destroyed. The other viewpoint agrees with this estimation of Soviet Communism, but is also of the opinion that Communism can help us to correct ourselves.

There must be a reason for the enormous fascination that Communism seems to have for millions of Europeans, of Asiatics, and even for some Americans. Communism is partly a reaction to weak spots in Western civilization. Though the Communist remedy is worse than the Western ailment, it reveals this bad spot clearly.

This situation compels us to reexamine ourselves. How have we, peoples of the West, set up our lives? How do we live as individuals? how as states? What makes life worth-while for us? Communism's challenge forces us to search our ideals and to study the actual forms of personal and community life. On the short range we may have to beat Communism with material weapons. On the long range we can win the battle only if our spiritual power is greater than theirs.

Perhaps some readers will read this last sentence a second time, for how can anyone doubt that our spiritual power is greater than that of Communism? Are we not Christians, that is to say, people who fully admit the primary importance of the things of the spirit? Are Communists not materialists, that is to say, people who deny the importance of spiritual life, even atheists, people who allow themselves to commit cruelties and lies because they do not acknowledge absolute, eternal moral laws?

These things are the truth, but not the whole truth. It is true that the Communists themselves describe their philosophy as "dialectical materialism," but in this expression the term "materialism" does not exactly mean the same thing as in our everyday language. It is a technical philosophical term, used by Marxist philosophers to indicate the difference between their system and that of the German philosopher Hegel, who has influenced them deeply. Hegel called himself an "idealist." Karl Marx, his disciple, changed Hegel's system on certain points, and in order to stress the difference called his system "materialism." Hegel and Kant taught that the visible world had to be interpreted in terms of mind, spirit, idea. Marx insisted that we can understand the world of tangible things only in terms of matter.

"There you are," some readers will say. "Marx and the Communists themselves admit that they reckon only with material things. We Americans possess more of the material goods than they do. They must want to grab what we have. How can they have any spiritual challenge?"

HOWEVER, in an important sense Communists are less materialistic than we are. What is the average American living for? He wants to have his own house and his own car. He also wants a good job, a comfortable home, a group of good friends, some money for vacations and trips. Above all, he wants no interference whatsoever from the Government!

It does not make a very great difference whether our man is a "secularist" or a churchgoer. For the average churchgoer his Christianity does not make much difference in these ideals. He also wants his car, a house of his own, vacations, etc. His religion certainly means something, perhaps much, to him—comfort in time of trouble, gratitude toward God, the giver of all goods—but it does not generally add new ideals or strengthen old ones. Maybe it sharpens his conscience on problems such as racial discrimination, but there are also many non-Christians who are deeply shocked by this evil and fight it with all their power.

All in all, the average American has no great ideal that possesses him deeply, no great vision that fires his spiritual imagination, no great purpose that must be realized. He is content with life as it is, only he wants more of it. Our Joe is not a bad fellow, but there is nothing in his life that inspires him, and therefore nothing that can inspire the lives of others.

THE average Communist offers quite a different picture. He is certainly a disagreeable fellow, whose conscience is not bothered too much by lies, concentration camps, and killings. But he is possessed by fiery ideas that inspire and move him deeply, and are capable of arousing enthusiasm in others. The horrible thing, however, is that these powerful ideas are sometimes of a dubious nature, but mostly downright evil.

The Communists believe that they possess in their Marxist-Leninist doctrine the answers on all economic, all financial, all political, all social problems, and the solutions of all other difficulties. In contrast to most, though not all, Western leaders, who admit that they are sometimes groping for the truth, the Communists are convinced that the Marxist-Leninist solution is the only right one, of absolute validity. Only the Communists can save mankind from their troubles. The word "save" is not used inadvertently here.

Though the Communists openly reject all religion, their own set of convictions certainly possesses a pseudoreligious character. They are convinced that they have a message for the whole world, at least for all the workers and underprivileged people. Communists have a mission to fulfill, namely, to bring the blessings of the Communist way of life to the nations of the world who still suffer under the bondage of capitalism, or retarded feudal societies.

Naturally we should be "realistic." In the expansion of Communism in Asia and Eastern Europe is a good deal of naked imperialism, or plain lust for power. The Russian leaders certainly want to rule the world, just for the fun of having this power. But it is not only this. Even the old Russian nationalism was rooted in the conviction that the Russian nation as such was something special, and had to bring some good of high significance to the world. Soviet imperialism is a blend of this old Russian nationalism and the Marxist conviction that it is the task of the enlightened Communist to save the world from decay, even though the world does not want to be saved, at least not in this way.

THE picture of a Communist which so many have in mind is that of a "goon," a "hoodlum" who destroys all that is worth-while just for the pleasure of destroying things; a man who enjoys exterminating his enemies. This picture is not wrong, but it gives only half of the truth, the half that is most visible. This picture does not explain very much, does not make us see why Communists do these things. The reason is in their conviction that they have a mission to fulfill, discussed above.

Because the Communist solution of all our problems is declared to be the only and absolutely right one, every individual or class or nation that resists the Communist activity is a danger for the salvation of mankind. He must be liquidated in order to protect the Communist process of salvation; he has to be sacrificed for the sake of a great good, the blessed state which the whole of mankind sometime will reach.

Such moods, such convictions, have nothing to do with materialism in the ordinary sense of the word. What drives Communists is not mainly desire for more clothes, more food, more gadgets. It would be foolish to deny that they like very much to have these things; everyone does. Much more powerful in the Communist mind are, however, the ideals of a world-wide Communist society, without classes, without privileged groups. In this respect, the average American with his ideals of a house of his own, a car of his own, and further to be left alone, is more materialistic than a fanatical Communist. Granted that the latter is moved by evil and dangerous ideas, they are certainly ideas! They possess power to inspire and to release large funds of physical and mental energy. Communists are fanatical, zealous missionaries.

But what about our freedom and our democracy? Are they not powerful ideals living in all our hearts, do not they inspire people to great deeds, such as our boys in Korea proved?" It is very doubtful whether freedom and democracy actually are powerful ideas in America.

It is certain that freedom and democracy have been sources of inspiration in the past. The last two or three generations, however, got these great goods for which our forefathers fought presented to them as gifts which they just had to accept. It was not necessary any more to make sacrifices for their sake. We have taken them for granted. Because we have been so sure of them we have been able to concentrate all our attention on getting our own house, our own car, etc. The same thing is true for our religion. We certainly appreciate our Church, our Christian heritage, but we consider them more as natural parts of our civilization than as elements of life to move and inspire us.

It is really a strange picture which we present to the world. We claim to be spiritual people and we are certainly not insincere when we say it. Actually what moves us are our modest or immodest material desires. We have received from our forefathers the most exalted spiritual heritage of the world: Christianity, democracy, all the philosophy, science, art, and culture of Western civilization. Actually these values are ornaments, things we use, instead of spiritual powers that inspire and move us deeply.

If Christianity and democracy really inspired us, we would better know what we wanted. We would know more clearly in which kind of society we wanted to live at home; we would have a distinct concept of how the world as a whole should be arranged. What we offer the world outside the U.S.A. is a confused mass of halfhearted or nervous ideas. The principles of most of them are not even practiced by ourselves at home.

Let us stress one of the most wonderful points of our spiritual heritage. That is the idea of tolerance and co-operation. The most important root of a well-understood tolerance is the Bible. This Book teaches that we are sinners and remain so even after having received forgiveness of our sins.

This means for our problem that no human individual, no group of human beings, may claim to possess the full and final truth. This goes for all problems, social and political as well as religious. No church, no political party, no saint, no wise man, no leader is in the exclusive possession of the final truth. We all are in need of criticism; we all need to be corrected in time by other churches, other political groups, by people of other convictions.

Furthermore, the Bible teaches us plainly that because no creature possesses absolute, divine insight, no human individual or group is allowed to exercise uncontrolled power. All human power positions have to be checked by other elements of power. How wise and beautiful are these ideas! Compared with them, the Communist ones are shallow and evil. These last ones lead to fanaticism instead of to Christian humility and tolerance. They lead to a vicious one-party system and perverted concentrations of power instead of to the balance of power in Western democracy.

THERE is no question about it, our ideas are so much better than the Communists'. And still . . . still we do not inspire the world. Still our ideas of what should be done in the present world crisis are vague and without power. People on the other side of the Iron Curtain *do* listen to the "Voice of America." An American official tells us, however, that the East Germans and the Poles do not want to hear more talks about cars and refrigerators. They want to know what inspires our lives. The "Voice" does not seem to tell them.

This is the great question: "What are the things for which we want to live, and, if necessary, to die?" Naturally, some of us know the answer. We will speak about God, country, democracy. Our weakness is that the convictions behind these words do not go deep enough, that the pictures they evoke are too vague.

The challenge of Communism is, first of all, spiritual in character. God asks us: "You Americans, whom I have granted both material goods in abundance and the spiritual treasures of a rich religious and cultural tradition, what have you done with these talents? Have you hidden them or did you use them for the well-being of yourselves and the whole of mankind?"

Many Social Action Leaders Are Doing It!

Have you ordered extra copies of *Social Progress* at these attractive quantity rates? 5-10 copies, 10 cents each; 11-24 copies, 8 cents each; 25 or more, 6 cents each. Display and distribute this February number on Race Relations Sunday and during Brotherhood Week.

An App

THE COST OF THE QUIET LIFE

A PHYSICIAN of Waukegan, Illinois, withheld evidence that would have saved from prison a falsely accused man. The doctor had examined the demented woman who placed the charge against James Montgomery, and knew no crime had been committed. Yet he failed to testify in support of the innocent man because, he said, he desired "a quiet life."

Last year the prisoner, fifty-six years old—having served twenty-six years of a life prison term as the price for that "quiet life"—was found guiltless by a Federal court and restored by the state to his wife. This concluded her fight of over a quarter of a century for the vindication of her husband. An attorney suggested that the Illinois legislature act "to compensate" James Montgomery for the years of imprisonment. One wonders what was done. Whatever it was, James and Senetoria Montgomery were not compensated for the twenty-six years of false imprisonment: Who can restore the years together denied them by one man's "harmless" desire?

The physician was not the only one responsible for the tragedy that struck the Montgomery home. The Ku-Klux Klan played its customary role by betraying with terror the rights of free men. For James Montgomery is a Negro. A corrupt state's attorney and a chief of police promoted the conspiracy. As a matter of fact, the evil was done without any active support from the *quiet* doctor. But the inescapable fact is that one man—one good man of courage—could have confounded these powerful, evil men and set an innocent man free. Is it not impressively clear that in this tragedy of race prejudice, as in all conflicts with evil, one resolute man with God could have scattered the enemy? There are not enough men of violence to get away with a fraction of the evil that is done under the sun were it not for those who, desiring only a "quiet life" for themselves, stand by—consenting.

The James Montgomery tragedy was produced by the prejudice and patterns of racial discrimination. These offenses gravely threaten the heart of Christian America, because there are still too many who prefer a "quiet life" to a courageous witness in word and deed to the brotherhood of all men in the family of God.

The hopeful sign in American life today is the fact that a resolute company of Christians now see with great clarity the proportion of the evil of racism and accept their responsibility for its eradication.

to Faith

THE INSTITUTE ON RACIAL AND CULTURAL RELATIONS

The Institute on Racial and Cultural Relations completes its intensive three-year program February 1, 1951. By action of the Board of Christian Education, the essential work of the Institute will be continued and its values conserved in the operation of the Division of Social Education and Action. The Director of the Institute, William McConaghy, elsewhere in this issue presents a condensed report of the Institute's life and work in promoting the "nonsegregated Church and the nonsegregated society," as envisioned in the pronouncements of the General Assembly in 1946. Those who have been responsible for the active promotion of the Institute or related to it as members of the Advisory Committee merit the "well done" of the Presbyterian Church. Substantial pioneering has been done and a course laid that assures a sound advance in the field of racial and cultural relations.

Rev. William McConaghy, Director of the Institute, and Dr. Jesse Barber, Codirector and Dean of Lincoln University, have assumed new responsibilities which give them opportunity for the continued employment of gifts revealed in the work of the Institute. Mr. McConaghy is now minister of the First Presbyterian Church of Syracuse, New York—a church of social vision and wide influence. Dr. Barber has been called by the Board of National Missions to succeed Dr. A. B. McCoy as Secretary of the Work with Colored People—a responsibility that involves the administration of work in thirteen states, four synods, and fifteen presbyteries.

THE NATION—85th ANNIVERSARY ISSUE PRESENTS THE FACTS ON WORLD PROBLEMS

The 85th anniversary issue of *The Nation* is an exceedingly timely and most significant contribution to American thinking in the present political discussion. The article, "The Menace of a German Army," in this issue of Social Progress, is taken from this anniversary issue. The other articles cover the responsibility of the United States in international politics. We highly recommend it to the readers of Social Progress. (*The Nation*, 20 Vesey Street, New York 7, N. Y.)

—*Paul Newton Poling.*

THE MENACE OF A GERMAN ARMY

By* CAROLUS*, a West German liberal who was exiled from Hitler's* Reich*. Since the war he has been active in West German politics and for that reason prefers to write under a pseudonym.

To crush German imperialism, to extirpate German militarism, raised to the highest and most fearsome power by the Nazi regime—such was the purpose of World Wars I and II. Once the goal had been attained, Germany ceased to exist. All that was left was an eastern zone occupied by Soviet Russia and a western zone split into three parts by the Western powers. "Any German," reads paragraph 13a of the Law for Liberation from National Socialism and Militarism decreed in the American zone in 1945 and not rescinded to this day, "who by spreading National Socialist, militarist, or racial ideas, or by other activities on behalf of National Socialism and militarism, impedes the reconstruction of a peaceful, democratic state, or endangers the peace of the world, is liable to punishment."

Five years later tens of thousands of young men in Germany's eastern zone are being pressed into a military force designated the "People's Police." In the western zone the *Neue Zeitung*, organ of the American occupation authorities, on November 4, 1950, published an article, identified only by three asterisks but originating in the office of High Commissioner McCloy, saying:

> *The United States alone cannot provide the defensive strength necessary to guard against Communist aggression. Indeed, the volume of its contribution will essentially depend on the contributions of the other nations of Europe, Germany among them. It is evident that the United States will make available strong forces in Germany only if the Germans themselves participate in the defense of their country.*

The issue between East and West that developed at Potsdam has now taken such a turn that it is apparently the Germans who have the power to tip the balance one way or the other. "Muster thirty divisions," Churchill has been exhorting the Western Germans for months, "or Europe will be Russian!" The *Neue Zeitung* says to them without mincing words, "In the American view, there is no time left for petty bickering or haggling over the price of collaboration." The Germans are being given the hot-and-cold-water treatment, as though the safety of the West depended on them. Would Hitler have won the war if on May 1, 1945, he had had a few extra divisions at his disposal? The Germans are quite willing to play the balance-tipping role assigned to them, and this lends a farcical twist to the tragedy of our time.

IT SEEMS well worth while to re-examine this latest ally of the Western powers in the light of recent events. Dr. Heinemann, the recalcitrant Minister of the Interior in the Adenauer Government, has quit. A moderator of the synod of the Evangelical Church, he said on his departure: "God did not twice strike the sword from the hands of the Germans, only to have them pick it up a third time." Rid of this evangelist, Chancellor Adenauer, on the occasion of the debate on German rearmament at Bonn on November 8, said:

> *The Federal Government views the Pleven plan as a valuable contribution toward the integration of Europe. It is of the opinion that a general peace settlement must be brought about through negotiations with the Soviet Union, but that such negotiations will stand a chance of success only when a defensive front of the Western powers is built up that is at least as strong as the Soviet threat. The Federal Government is of the opinion that the Federal Republic of Germany, if requested by the Western powers, must be prepared to make an appropriate contribution toward the creation of such a defensive front . . . . A condition is that Germany shall enjoy complete equality with the other powers that participate in this defensive front and furthermore that this defensive front shall be strong enough to make any Russian aggression impossible.*

As early as August 29 the chancellor, in an unsolicited letter withheld from the German people to this day, advised the State Department that the Adenauer Government, which represents big business, desired a German army—under certain conditions. Just how, in view of the situation in the Far East and French resistance to German rearmament, Dr. Adenauer's conditions are to be met is another question. What the German Government had in mind, at least for the time being, was proclaimed by the new and practical-minded Minister of the Interior, Dr. Lehr, who told a meeting: "We need an army not merely for defense against the East but also for defense against the excessive wage demands of the trade-unions."

Another ambiguity in the declarations of Government spokesmen is how "complete equality for Germany" can be reconciled with the Pleven plan. Coupled with this plan is acceptance of the Schuman plan, strongly urged in Washington. Yet the big industrialists of the Ruhr and the Rhine have little interest left in the Schuman plan, which was so impetuously indorsed only yesterday. Since the war in Korea began, everything is changed. Today, even without a Schuman plan, there is again a world market for German industry, a steel production virtually without limitations, American import credits, an unexpected industrial boom. Since Korea the German production index has risen from 101 to 125, as against 100 in 1936.

MEANWHILE the gentlemen of the Rhineland and the Ruhr are clamoring more and more insistently in their press for the Allies to return control of German decartelization and deconcentration to the "German authorities." In other words, Washington is to set the fox to mind the sheep. If the Schuman plan should come into being under such auspices, the great vertical German coal and steel trust, with its vast productive capacity and low-wage scales, would be confronted by corresponding industries in Belgium, Luxembourg, and ultimately even France, of such inferiority that these partners in the Schuman plan would have no choice but to capitulate before the Germans. A concentrated German army would have at its disposal a concentrated German industry, provided by the Marshall Plan with all necessary imports. Dollars earned by German exports would, to a considerable degree, be safely locked up in foreign vaults. Even now domestic capital stringency is such that the German discount rate has had to be raised to 6 per cent, while already at least half a billion dollars in German accounts, the fruit of exports, rests safely in foreign banks. Economic power backed by an army—that is the political formula of which the gentlemen represented by Dr. Adenauer and his Government majority have dreamed from the beginning, the formula which has been applied so fatefully in two world wars and will be applied again tomorrow.

What this reborn economic power of trusts and cartels means to democracy is readily seen from the organizations and "brotherhoods" that meet Sunday after Sunday to listen to the aims proclaimed by the ex-generals, former Nazi leaders, and war criminals who are rolling off the Allied amnesty assembly line. "We were grenadiers against Communism and not the devil's grenadiers," as Panzer General Eberbach put it on November 2. Simultaneously a "Reich Brotherhood" which dabbles in European politics was meeting in Bielefeld. Among the guests of honor were Himmler's daughter, Hitler's Youth Leader, Axmann, and the former Nazi Women's Leader, Frau von Scholtz-Klink, while Europe was represented by Sir Oswald Mosley, who was able to do no more than send a warm telegram from Spain. And all this at a time when Dr. Adenauer had only just announced his "contribution to the defense of Western civilization"!

The character of these gentlemen is highlighted by the fact that they are at the same time flirting with Russia and a German brand of "National Bolshevism." The picture is rounded out by the Minister for All German Questions, Herr Kaiser, who delivers Sunday addresses before audiences of expelled Silesians and East Prussians running into the tens of thousands and promises them that they shall soon return.

VIEWED in this light, the question fails to remain as naïve or simple as Washington would make it seem: "Is Europe to become Bolshevized and Russianized?" No, indeed! Moscow has forced Washington to consider another choice: "Shall the European continent be dominated tomorrow by Russia or by Germany?" To vanquish Russia —according to the formula proposed by General McCloy—would only mean handing Europe over to the Germans. Or does anyone imagine that Germany, once it has rendered a vital "contribution" toward victory over Russia, could ever be reduced to its status of 1945-1950? Or that the United States would be willing again to intervene in Europe if its German ally engaged in aggression against a neighboring country? This alternative of a Russian or a German Europe is utterly hateful to France, Italy, Belgium, Sweden, and all the other nations of Europe; nor do the German masses loathe it any less. The German masses are afraid of their own shadow, of the militarism that has cost them so dear; and the ruins of their cities have taught them to shun a new war as a burned child shuns the fire. That is why the great speech, with its resounding "no" to remilitarization, delivered to the Bonn parliament on November 8 by Dr. Schumacher—this Jacobin patriot—found such a wide echo among the people.

Is it then true that the fate of Europe hangs by the slender thread of thirty German divisions? What a comical delusion to believe that Russia could be held in check by two or three dozen divisions, that Europe and the world could be thus defended against Soviet conquest.

RUSSIA has foreseen the danger of a remilitarized and economically reinvigorated Germany ever since its victorious soldiers marched through the Brandenburg Gate in 1945. It was this danger that kindled the conflict between East and West, that gave rise to the Berlin blockade, a separate West Germany, a Russian satellite state, the remilitarization of East Germany, the remilitarization of West Germany. Each wedge opened the way for the next—but at the beginning stood Russian fear. And now this reinvigorated West Germany, to be remilitarized tomorrow, is actually to become the great ally of the United States! What of the role to which such a development consigns a France that is even today far weaker than Germany, let alone Italy and the smaller Continental nations? A remilitarized West Germany would mean the end of any balance of power on the Continent, would ultimately render war against the East inevitable, whether the United States desired it or not.

THE fate of Europe and possibly of the world could be determined by thirty German divisions only if those divisions were inseparably mingled with the divisions of the United States. Still enjoying freedom of action today, the United States, in creating a German army, would tomorrow be the prisoner of that army—the prisoner of Dr. Adenauer and his German industry. Such a German army would be bound to lead a life of its own, to sweep the United States into any and all military adventures, to expose it to all manner of blackmail and threats, *even the threat of a Russo-German alliance.* The whole German question has arisen only because Russia and the United States have dug themselves in on either side of the Elbe. And it is because they are unable to come to an agreement that the German divisions may determine the fate of the world. Hence German pacifism, the fear of the masses that their country may once again be turned into a battlefield, is the only ray of light in these somber days.

Pastor Niemöller, now engaged in a great peace campaign, recently exclaimed: "Adenauer is no better than Pieck (Russia's handyman in the East German satellite state). A plague on both of them." Niemöller and his friends have proposed that Russian, American, British, and French troops be withdrawn from Germany, to be replaced by neutral United Nations forces. Free, equal, and secret elections to an all-German parliament would then take place under the supervision of these forces, and the resultant new, demilitarized Germany would become a neutral territory separating East and West.

It is a good proposal that represents one method of stamping out the smoldering fire between East and West in Germany, of once again investing the German question with that meaning for the sake of which millions of young Americans and Russians, together with their allies, went to their mass graves in two world wars. The resolutions adopted by the satellite countries at Prague may be dubious, one-sided, and imperfect; but Moscow has made them the basis for its proposed four-power conference, and that conference should be held. The peoples of Europe are anxiously waiting for it. The fate of the world rests with such a conference—not in the hands of thirty German divisions.

THE COMPLETE MAN

Call to Worship:

The Lord is merciful and gracious, slow to anger, and plenteous in mercy. If we confess our sins, he is faithful and just to forgive us our sins, and to cleanse us from all unrighteousness.

All things whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them: for this is the law and the prophets.

Invocation:

"O God, who hast made man in Thine own likeness and who dost love all whom Thou hast made, teach us the unity of Thy family and the breadth of Thy love. By the example of Thy Son, Jesus our Saviour, enable us, while loving and serving our own, to enter into the fellowship of the whole human family; and forbid that, from pride of race or hardness of heart, we should despise any for whom Christ died, or injure any in whom He lives. Amen."—*From* The Book of Common Worship, Revised.

Hymn: "O Love That Wilt Not Let Me Go."

Scripture Lesson: I John 4:15 to 5:4.

Prayer:

O Lord our God, we are stumbling in the darkness of interracial persecution, of interclass exploitation, of a world bent on war. Help us to confess the sin which made such darkness possible. So often have we expressed our love to thee with our lips when our hearts were far from thee because they lacked love for all thy children. Send forth thy light into our hearts and disperse the darkness. Teach us to love all mankind, even the seemingly unlovable. Through Jesus Christ, our Lord. Amen.

Meditation:

The practice of the presence of God and the practice of brotherhood with men are the two essentials of the complete life.

As our love for God grows, so too does our love for our brother, and as love for other members of the human family increases so does our love for God.

Paul wrote to the Christians of Colossae, "Ye are complete in him." The saddest thing in Christendom today, I believe, is the fact that there are so many millions who claim to be followers of Jesus who know nothing of this complete life in him. The thing which perhaps more than all else hinders them from entering into this completeness is a coldness of heart or a smug indifference to children of God who differ from them in race or creed or class. Jesus taught that we should love the Lord our God with all our heart, and with all our soul, and with all our mind, and that we should love our neighbor as ourselves—thus lifting up and reemphasizing an age-old truth (Lev.

19:18). For long ago wise men found such a policy essential for the welfare and happiness of their tribe or clan.

Wise men today are finding how deleterious hatred and prejudice are to the body, mind, and soul of man, and to the well-being of their institutions and their nations. Recently a great psychiatrist stated that he could trace the illness of a majority of his patients, whether suffering in body or in mind, to hate. In the recent best seller *The Mature Mind*, we are told that "to hate . . . is to be psychologically ill." Tenenbaum tells us that "hate narrows, dries up and shrivels the soul." No wonder then that down through the ages we are told to love our neighbor as ourselves. This commandment, like a golden thread, runs through the teachings of Jesus, Paul, James, and John. Scripture is replete with texts showing God's will for man in relation to his brother. But stubborn, sinful creature that he is, man will not walk therein, though daily he prays, "Thy will be done."

The great tragedy of contemporary Protestantism is that in most of our churches segregation is considered a desirable solution to the vexing problem of race. It continues to be practiced rigorously despite the fact that in many sections of our country Governmental agencies, educational institutions, labor unions, and athletic organizations have outlawed it. This is a sad commentary on the church and a stumbling block to many.

Man cannot be complete under such a regime. Franklin Roosevelt said that "the perpetuation of democracy depends upon the brotherhood of man." How much more so the perpetuation of the Church. Without brotherhood the Church cannot be the Church. Without brotherhood man cannot be man, for without brotherhood man cannot know God and it is only in God that man is complete.

The great cities of our nation are setting up Redevelopment Authorities to reclaim their blighted urban areas. Some spiritual redevelopment is badly needed among that vast horde of American Protestant church members who are well aware of God's utterances and of their Church's pronouncements on the subject of brotherhood but who daily live in open defiance and often in brazen hostility to the commandment of God and the pronouncement of their Church. This defiance dooms them to an incomplete spiritual life, for it is only in him that we are complete and no man is in him who does not love his brother. "O brother man, fold to thy heart thy brother" (*Whittier*). "What life have you if you have not life together? There is no life that is not community, And no community that is not lived in praise of God" (*T. S. Eliot*).

Hymn: "O Brother Man, Fold to Thy Heart Thy Brother."

Prayer:

"O God, who art the Hope of all the ends of the earth, the God of the spirits of all flesh: We beseech Thee to hear our humble intercessions for all races and kindreds of men, that Thou wilt turn all hearts unto Thyself. Remove from our minds hatred, prejudice, and contempt for those who are not of our own race or color, class or creed; that, departing from everything that estranges and divides, we may by Thee be brought into unity of spirit, in the bond of peace. Amen."—*From* The Book of Common Worship, *1946.*

Benediction.

—Prepared by Dr. Irvin W. Underhill, Housing Manager, The Philadelphia Housing Authority, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.

WHAT CHRISTIANS CAN DO FOR BROTHERHOOD

The practice of brotherly religion is not confined to the month of February or to a virtuous observance of Race Relations Sunday and Brotherhood Week. Brotherhood is a year-round responsibility for every follower of Christ. Create a group in your church that will seek God's leading through Bible study, prayer, fellowship, and Christian action. You can help to maintain Christ's standard of brotherhood in your church and community.

As individuals—

1. Examine your own attitudes and manners with regard to race.
2. Learn the basic facts about race. The Division of Social Education and Action will send literature upon request.
3. Avoid generalizations or prejudgments based on race.
4. Refrain from telling stories that slander or make fun of any racial or religious group. Where one hears these stories he should tactfully point out that relating them spreads prejudice.
5. Correct derogatory or incorrect statements made by others about a race. Do not use derogatory terms—"Nigger," "Darky," "Kike," "Wop," "Dago."
6. Find out what your church and denomination and other agencies are doing to improve race relations, and how you can become a part of this movement.
7. Support legislation designed to guarantee civic rights to all regardless of race, creed, or national origin.
8. Work in your occupation, your union, or vocational organization for fair employment practices.

As church organizations—

1. Strengthen Christian brotherhood by making church membership open to all regardless of race.
2. Evaluate what your church has done in race relations and make plans for a year-round race relations program.
3. Sponsor study groups, forums, worship services, and other activities as a means of bringing groups of different racial and cultural backgrounds together for the purpose of discovering common needs and mutual interests.
4. Discover what racial groups live in the community in which the church is located; what contributions they are making to community life; what their problems are; and how the church or individuals can help to resolve them.
5. Work to guarantee decent homes for all people and for the removal of restrictive housing covenants and community practices based on race or nationality.
6. Work for impartial justice in the courts and the elimination of discrimination on account of race, creed, or national origin. The fields in which these barriers now exist include employment, housing, education, health, recreation, hotel accommodations, and community services.
7. Work with employers groups, professional organizations, and unions to establish employment practices based on character and skill rather than on race, creed, or national origin.

—From the National Council of the Churches of Christ in America.

Signs of Hope

Mark these new gains in human rights in 1950!

The award of the Nobel Peace Prize to Dr. Ralph Bunche, distinguished American statesman and educator and director of the United Nations Trusteeship Council (September, 1950). Dr. Bunche received the award for his work as United Nations Mediator in Palestine, which brought armistice agreements between Israel and the neighboring Arab states despite seemingly insurmountable difficulties.

The appointment of Mrs. Edith Sampson, prominent Chicago attorney, to the United States delegation to the UN General Assembly (August, 1950). Mrs. Sampson is a resident of Chicago where she has been a successful trial lawyer and active in many civic and legal welfare organizations. Her appointment raises the level of influence of the American Negro woman to "a new and responsible high," and also gives recognition for American Negroes at a crucial time in race relations in the world.

New policies in the Armed Forces. As the United States once more enters a period of at least partial mobilization, the role of the Negro serviceman will be importantly changed. All three of the major services have modified their policies to admit Negroes to the full range of training, jobs, and military units. The new policies are described in *Freedom to Serve*, a report of the President's Committee on Equality of Treatment and Opportunity in the Armed Services, published May, 1950.

Segregation of Negro passengers in railroad coaches and dining cars below Washington was outlawed when the Supreme Court set aside an interstate commerce commission ruling in the Henderson case. The usual practice of separating "tables for Negroes" by a curtain or glass was found to be in violation of the defendant's civil rights. Such separation of Negro passengers has virtually ceased since the ruling.

Eight states and four cities now have effective Fair Employment Practices Commissions. These are listed in the order in which they adopted FEPC legislation:

States	*Cities*
New York	Minneapolis
New Jersey	Philadelphia
Massachusetts	Cleveland
Connecticut	Youngstown
Rhode Island	
Washington	
Oregon	
New Mexico	

These Government commissions are set up to protect all persons against discrimination in employment because of race, color, creed, ancestry, or national origin. The program is carried out by general education and by the adjustment of specific complaints through conference, conciliation, and persuasion. When educational methods fail, there are provisions for enforcing compliance.

The doors of Southern graduate and professional schools are opening to Negro students. In June, 1950, the U. S. Supreme Court ruled that the University of Texas must admit Herman Sweatt, a Negro student, to its law school, and held that the University of Oklahoma must stop treating G. W. McLaurin differently from white students. The court also defined what it meant by "equal." It had already established that equality is not achieved by the state's agreeing to pay a Negro's tuition at an out-of-state school. Nor, it now added, is it achieved by hastily erecting a building, stocking it with a collection of books, staffing it with a few teachers, and labeling it a "separate-but-equal" law school. Nor, it said further, is it even achieved by admitting a Negro to the white graduate school and then requiring him to sit, study, and eat apart from the other students.

Texas had gone to some expense to provide a special law school for Negroes, in order to offset Sweatt's lawsuit. Here is how the Supreme Court measured its inequality: "In terms of number of the faculty, variety of courses and opportunity for specialization, size of the student body, scope of library, availability of law review, and similar activities, the University of Texas Law School is superior." The court also made comparisons between such qualities as faculty reputation, community standing, traditions and prestige, and opportunity to associate with those who would later be the lawyers, jurors, and judges in the state.

Arkansas is the only Southern state in which graduate facilities were opened to Negroes voluntarily. When the Supreme Court ruled in the Oklahoma suit in 1948, state officials saw the implications and proceeded to set their house in order. A qualified Negro student was admitted to the law school of the University of Arkansas that year; the following year, another law student was admitted and a Negro girl entered the medical school.

Kentucky has likewise taken voluntary action, though a lawsuit figured early in the changes. In March, 1949, Federal Judge H. Church Ford ruled that the university must admit Negro students to its graduate schools until comparable courses were made available in Negro institutions. A year later, twelve Negroes were pursuing their studies at the university. In 1950 the state segregation laws were amended to permit any institution of higher learning, on its own initiative, to admit Negroes to those courses not matched by Kentucky State College for Negroes. The governing boards of the University of Louisville and Berea College have already exercised their local option by dropping racial bars.

Four students of the **North Carolina** College for Negroes have suffered an adverse decision in their suit for admission to the state university's law school. The points at issue closely resembled those in the Sweatt case. The Negroes maintained—and produced distinguished witnesses to testify—that the separate law school established for Negroes is in no way equal to that at the University of North Carolina. The Federal Circuit Court in Durham, however, held that the two schools are "substantially equal"—the first such ruling since the Sweatt decision. An early appeal to the U. S. Supreme Court is anticipated.

The Board of Supervisors of **Louisiana** State University rejected the applications of twelve Negroes, on grounds of race, on July 28, 1950. One of the Negro students, Roy S. Wilson, sought an injunction in Federal District Court to restrain the Board from enforcing its resolution barring Negroes. On October 7, the court ruled in Wilson's favor and ordered the university to admit him to its law school.

The **Florida** Supreme Court ruled last summer that out-of-state scholarships do not satisfy constitutional requirements for equality of opportunity. But, as a substitute, the court gave its sanction to a compromise plan: Negroes would be enrolled in Florida A. & M. College (for Negroes) and allowed to attend the University of Florida on a segregated basis until equivalent courses are made available at A. & M. This arrangement has been questioned in the light of the Sweatt and McLaurin decisions.

The Attorney General of **Tennessee** ruled that the University of Tennessee at

Knoxville should admit Negroes to pursue studies in the graduate, dental, and law schools. He based his decision on the U. S. Supreme Court rulings.

Georgia political figures have declared that they would "go to jail" before obeying any Federal court order to admit Negroes to the University of Georgia. They were promptly answered by Negro leaders, who promised to "give them an opportunity to do just that."

Citizenship and Legislation

H. R. 9780—This bill gives all aliens who have a legal right to permanent residence the privilege of becoming naturalized citizens of the United States. The measure is directed at eliminating certain racial discrimination features of the present law and would apply mainly to Japanese Americans. It was introduced by Representative Walter of Pennsylvania, chairman of the Immigration subcommittee, during the special December session. As we go to press, the bill has passed the House and is on the Senate calendar.

Universal Military Service—Upward of seven years military service, full and part time, is planned for every young American man under a far-reaching program scheduled to be sent to Congress early in the opening session. As we go to press, final touches are being put on the plan by top officials in the Pentagon and other interested Government agencies. According to the *Washington Post*, it calls for "nothing less than universal service during the foreseeable future for male youths reaching military age." Full hearings have been scheduled to begin January 3 before a Senate Armed Services subcommittee.

S.3357—Slot machine bill. At press time this bill was awaiting signature by the President, having passed both House and Senate. It prohibits the interstate shipment of slot machines and like gambling devices. However, as agreed upon by Senate and House conferees, the measure exempts those states which have enacted special laws for that purpose.

S.4234—Authorizes $38,000,000 in emergency food relief aid to Yugoslavia. Passed both Houses during special December session and was signed into law by the President on December 29.

Genocide Convention. Two years ago, at the Paris General Assembly, a Convention on Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide was approved for submission to the member states of the United Nations. The United States had been foremost among those nations pressing for this international reform. Indeed, but for the leadership exercised by the United States it is doubtful that the Genocide Convention would have been completed at Paris.

It has been announced at Lake Success that a sufficient number of instruments of ratification or accession had been received to permit the Convention to be brought into force. Article XIII provides that the Convention will come into force on the 90th day after the 20th instrument of ratification has been deposited. This means the Convention will come into force January 12, 1951. On that day the mass murder of humans will have been brought under the ban of international law.

But not for the United States. The Senate has not yet ratified the Convention. The nation that took the lead in drafting the Convention has not yet ratified. Our failure thus far to do this damages our position in the world. A subcommittee of the Foreign Relations Committee is prepared to recommend ratification with reservations. The Legal Committee of the UN became involved in a two-week discussion of the issue of reservations to multilateral Conventions.

This Committee has submitted to the UN General Assembly a resolution requesting the International Court of Justice for an advisory opinion.

A national committee to repeal the McCarran Act has been functioning since December 27, 1950, when its organization was announced by thirty-two prominent Americans who have already been joined by more than 1,000 other leaders from every state and the District of Columbia.

Outstanding churchmen, including Dr. John A. Mackay, president of Princeton Theological Seminary, and John B. Thompson, dean of the Rockefeller Memorial Chapel of the University of Chicago, scientists, and educators have led the movement to form the committee. Dean Thompson as a spokesman for the initiating group explained that the committee grew out of the appeal of more than 1,900 leading Americans to President Truman and Congress for defeat of the McCarran bill last fall and out of countless letters since its passage urging repeal.

"The hysteria and intimidation the law has evoked in the two months since its passage," Thompson said, "have strengthened the opposition of those who were against its passage and have opened the eyes of many who were not fully aware of the dangers of such repressive legislation."

"The present situation holds three most hopeful prospects," he added. "First is the repeal measure introduced by Rep. Adolph Sabath (Dem., Ill.). We shall launch a campaign on Congress for full support of this measure. Secondly, we hail the recent actions of important national organizations in favor of repeal (the National Convention of the C.I.O.: the *American Federationist,* official organ of the A.F.L.; the League of United Synagogues; the American Civil Liberties Union; and many others). . . . Finally, our faith in the unconstitutionality of the act is confirmed by the recent Supreme Court decision in the case of Blau vs. the United States, which proves that the registration provisions of the McCarran law cannot be enforced. We are convinced that the American people realize that the preservation of the Bill of Rights is their responsibility and that they will therefore join with us in demanding the repeal of this infamous act."

Attorneys of the American Civil Liberties Union have analyzed the McCarran Act and its provisions for the control of subversive influences and activity in the United States. They propose the complete repeal of the act and the drafting of a new bill that would more justly and sanely meet the present problems of internal security. They believe that it would be unwise to attempt to revise the present antisubversive law, which time may prove to be unworkable, even unconstitutional.

Toward World Brotherhood. Step by step, the General Assembly of the United Nations is broadening its concern for dependent peoples.

On December 1, 1949, the General Assembly, by overwhelming majorities, approved ten resolutions providing for continuing United Nations investigation and review of conditions in all colonies. This decision was reached despite vigorous opposition by Britain and France. The General Assembly's action affects 200,000,000 dependent peoples.

Under this action the colonial powers were called upon to provide the United Nations with full data on political rights in their respective dependencies. The special committee, set up three years ago, to sift data from non-self-governing territories and to order systematic inquiries into economic, educational, and social conditions in these areas, was continued until 1952.

The United States voted for all but two of the ten resolutions approved by the General Assembly. It voted no on the proposal calling for political data and abstained on the proposal for an investigation into what constitutes a non-self-governing territory. Speaking for the United States, Charles Fahy said the United States believed the colonial powers were not legally bound to furnish data on political institutions in their dependencies, although the United States voluntarily provided such information concerning Hawaii, Alaska, Guam, and other American possessions.

Under the General Assembly's action, in addition to the request for political data, the special agencies of the UN, such as the Food and Agriculture Organization, were authorized to intensify their activities in colonial areas under the technical aid program for economic development. Highlighted was the need for a world census of agriculture, study of the soil erosion problem, training of public-health personnel, equality of treatment of migrant labor in Africa, and more rapid development of social welfare services.

Worth Looking Into

A pioneering study in Philadelphia schools of group prejudices in young children. The Philadelphia Early Childhood Project was carried on for three years under the joint sponsorship of the Philadelphia School System, the Bureau for Intercultural Education, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, and the Philadelphia Fellowship Commission.

In an attempt to discover ways in which the results of this research might be utilized in religious schools, the Philadelphia Fellowship Commission has sponsored a series of seminars attended by ministers, rabbis, and religious education directors of Christian and Jewish congregations throughout Philadelphia.

The findings of this project have brought to light disturbing information about prejudice among young children which has challenged some of the assumptions and practices in secular and religious education.

The primary concern of the research was to determine whether, and to what extent, young children are aware of racial and religious groups, young children's attitudes toward such groups, and whether membership in such a group affects the young child's concept of self. Results of this study and research will be published in book form early this spring. Watch for announcements. There may be a lesson in these findings for you!

American democracy in action is the theme of a new series of thirteen radio programs called "The People Act," jointly produced by the "Living-1950" program unit of the National Broadcasting Company and the Twentieth Century Fund, being heard on the NBC network on Saturday evenings, 7:00-7:30 Eastern standard time.

Each episode of "The People Act" tells the story of an American community in which the citizens have worked together to solve some of the economic and social problems confronting them. On each program a guest speaker cites findings on a national scale from Twentieth Century Fund investigations that may help other communities to understand and deal with similar local problems.

Customers in the Chicago area should note the removal of the Chicago Westminster Book Store on February 1, 1951, from 8 South Dearborn Street to 218 West Monroe Street, Chicago 6. Chicago headquarters for the Presbyterian Distribution Service, which handles pamphlets and other literature, is also located at this new address.

About Books

Road Without Turning, by Rev. James H. Robinson, Farrar, Straus & Company, Inc. $3.00.

A young minister who now serves in one of the significant churches of our denomination, the Church of the Master in New York City, records what it is like to grow up in the two-system social structure of American culture. Readers of the book will not forget Mr. Robinson's triumph over frustration, bitterness, and hate, or the early days of his life in the "Bottoms" in Knoxville, Tennessee. The mental, physical, and spiritual suffering which was his experience is unknown to the average ministerial aspirant.

The book will be especially valuable to church officers and social workers for its insights in achieving a biracial ministry and congregation. It will be helpful also to Negro ministers and lay leaders in pointing up the fact that they too must work to secure nonsegregation policies for the Church. This book, so revealing of the anguish suffered by those who are at the mercy of America's undemocratic economic, political, and social practices, should be available in every church library.

If in the future Mr. Robinson should write a sequel, it is our dream and prayer that conditions will so have changed in church and community that happier, more Christian human relations may be reflected in his writing.

—*William H. McConaghy.*

Charles Freer Andrews, by Benarsidas Chaturvedi and Marjorie Sykes. Harper & Brothers. $3.75.

C. F. Andrews, Church of England missionary to India, becomes in this biography a very real and lovable twentieth century saint. In Andrews' life we find much of the story of modern India, with such characters as Gandhi and Nehru at its center. Sadhu Sundar Singh and Rabindranath Tagore also come to life for us as the men who enabled Andrews to break out of the narrow boundaries of his original High Church point of view to become the true catholic man, the friend of the poor wherever he met them, and ultimately Christ's Friendly Apostle.

One does not ordinarily think of specific missionaries as being, themselves, political activists; but this is the significance of Andrews for readers of SOCIAL PROGRESS. His sympathy for the people, not only in India, but in Fiji, South Africa, British Guiana, coupled with his extraordinary capacity for understanding the true nature of their problems, plunged him into action on their behalf, identifying himself completely with the people he wished to help. His name is coupled with the abolition of the indenture system in the Fiji Islands and in South Africa, with the development of nationalism in India, and with the movement against the blight of "untouchability."

Naturally, on occasion, his continuing pleas on behalf of the oppressed involved him in movements that were unpopular to the powers that exploited the poor. He knew the sorrow of being cut off by his fellow Britishers, and sometimes even by the very people he sought to help. Because he could not abide the narrow limits of a creedal Christianity, he was often accused of having gone over to Hinduism, but this too was part of his program of identification.

If anyone wonders what would happen if Jesus should come to earth again, let him read this biography. Andrews so faithfully exemplifies the Christian spirit that men said of him, "He lives the life of Christ."

—*Paul C. McFarlin.*

Near East Panorama, by Glora M. Wysner. Friendship Press. $2.50.

This book deals with that explosive area around the Mediterranean Sea where Mohammedanism has held sway for centuries. Its devotees now face the great upsurging passions for nationalism and freedom on the one hand, the pressures of Communism and oil on the other. However, these subjects are treated in a larger framework by Glora Wysner. The thesis of her book is the progress of Christianity in lands that have traditionally been written off by most of the world as impervious to change. Christianity has slowly but certainly come home to the lands whence it came. In spite of persecution, Christian minorities there are increasing.

All the issues of faith, politics, and economy in terms of people are treated in this very human document. Two of the representatives to the United Nations from this area say, "*Near East Panorama* is the fairest picture that any modern author has given of this vast area."

Assignment: Near East, by James Batal. Friendship Press. $1.75.

This is an American newspaperman's report of the results of 130 years of Christian missionary activity in the heart of the Moslem world. It abounds in human interest and stories of persons who have been touched by educational, medical, and evangelistic work of the Church. It gives such astonishing facts as this: virtually one third of the delegates from the Near East who shared in the drawing up of the United Nations charter at San Francisco were educated in Christian or Christian-inspired schools in their native lands. But this is not a book for just churchmen. Indeed, diplomats and statesmen would learn a great deal from this volume which more "official" sources would not bring to light.

So Sure of Life, by Violet Wood. Friendship Press. Cloth, $2.50; paper, $1.00.

This is a biography of Dr. Robert F. Thomas, who has been for a quarter of a century and still is doctor, counselor, veterinarian, postmaster, and pastor extraordinary for a population of five thousand people in an area of two hundred square miles on the Tennessee side of the Great Smoky Mountains.

The story reads like a novel, but it is fact throughout. The reader will here find a heart-warming account of what one man has done to lift up the lives of thousands of mountain folk in "the land of do without." Here also one will make the acquaintance of a group of dignified and independent people who still speak the way their forebears did in the time of Queen Elizabeth.

This authentic and finely drawn work is a tribute to a medical missionary of extraordinary character and a choice group of Americans, both to be remembered long after one has turned its final page.

—*Neva B. Palmeter.*

Toward a New Far Eastern Policy, by Edwin O. Reischauer. Headline Series, No. 84, Foreign Policy Association. 35 cents.

The elements of a farsighted Asia policy in keeping with humanitarian concern for the peoples of the Far East and the best practices of democracy are thoughtfully described and graphically illustrated in this new Headline pamphlet.

Helpful too is the analysis of the traditional American policies that are no longer adequate guides to action.

The author was born in Japan of missionary parents. He is professor of Far Eastern languages at Harvard.

HOME TOWN, U.S.A.— PROVING GROUND FOR DEMOCRACY

By **H. CURTIS MIAL**, *Executive Director, New York State Citizens Council, Inc., Syracuse, New York.*

CHURCH leadership faces a major challenge. In most communities the church is the organized group that reaches more individual citizens of both sexes and from all walks of life, all points of view, than any other institution. Likewise, the church has the greatest opportunity to encourage its members to participate more fully and more democratically in the life of the community and to commit themselves to the practice of their faith in their daily living.

The New York State Citizens Council particularly welcomes this opportunity to tell its story and to discuss from a layman's standpoint the special contributions the church can make toward community building.

Since 1943 the New York State Citizens Council has been working at the job of helping New York communities to help themselves. It was a war baby, born when communities were working at war problems and when citizens from all parts of the community were learning how to pull together because if they didn't the job that had to be done couldn't be done. Then, too, there was a strong feeling back in 1943 that the activity that was going into all kinds of war effort would be needed just as urgently in peacetime. With this thought of peacetime needs, a representative group from fifty-two communities was convened by the State Department of Education. As a result of their deliberations the New York State Citizens Council was established to find the means whereby people might work together toward common goals.

The people who founded the Council adopted as their banner, "A better America will be built in better American communities." They were committed to the belief that the local community is both the birthplace and the testing ground of a working democracy.

In the present crisis, when all that Americans cherish is at stake, the Council is convinced that the primary challenge is to the local community and the individuals who comprise it. It recognizes that there is no single formula for tackling America's home front needs, because communities, like individuals, vary, and each must work out its own means of problem-solving. The Council makes its chief contribution to the process by making it easy for communities to share experience and know-how, and by serving as a catalyst to bring many separate groups together.

Communities in Action

The last week end in January, for example, the Jamestown Citizens Council and the Jamestown Young Adult Civic Council met with guests from neighboring communities to face up to the problems of "community building in a troubled world." A little to the south, the Broome County Community Council and the County Defense Council have sent out a general call for an area meeting at the end of March to thrash out ways to meet today's problems and plan for tomorrow's needs. Similar plans are afoot in the Capitol District. During the last week end in May communities from all parts of the State of New York will send representatives to the village of Sharon Springs, where the Citizens Committee of the Sharon Springs Board of Trade will be host to the Seventh Annual Institute of Community Leadership of the New York State Citizens Council.

Local citizens councils have sparked these area gatherings. Doctors, lawyers, merchants, teachers, laborers, members of service clubs and women's groups, housewives, young people, ministers and religious leaders have pooled their combined information, skills, and aspirations and put them to work for the entire community.

At the regional and state conferences listed above, at countless local sessions, and at annual state institutes, members of citizens councils and neighborhood associations are attempting a good, hard look at their community, not at any single facet but at the whole. They are appraising the religious life, the schools, the health and welfare programs, the economic life, housing, recreation, government, cultural opportunities of their towns. They are noting gaps and weaknesses. More facts are needed as they plan for the future, and they are learning to use the tools for getting these facts. They are also discovering that to use the facts they need to arouse popular interest and get more people to take an active part. Many more groups must be stimulated to co-operate for the common weal. The job of community building is not easy, but there are a great many resources for the task.

The Role of the Churches

All thoughtful churchmen are aware of the need for closer church and community relations. The church and the community are inseparable, for the church not only builds and strengthens the spiritual life of the community but also influences the social, economic, and political life. Where religious leaders take the lead in tackling causes of human woe and in fostering social concern and citizen action, the church becomes a great constructive social force. Churchmen who take their faith seriously cannot be blind to such problems as slums, delinquency, discrimination, voter apathy, and hysteria on public issues.

The job of community building has only begun. Ministers and lay leaders must somehow find time to look at the whole community where whole men must live and give this scrutiny high priority.

By precept and example church leaders can demonstrate that work and thought for the whole community are essential and rewarding. They can enter wholeheartedly into co-operative undertakings with other churches and other faiths. They can encourage seminaries to include courses in community organization and community relations in their training programs. They can help parents and teachers to realize that responsible citizenship must be an integral part of the education of children, and make this education meaningful by providing opportunity for children to contribute their own efforts to the community. They can serve actively on community councils, and, if no council exists, they can encourage citizens to organize to achieve their common goals. They can open the doors of their churches to community activities. The church ought to be a natural center for co-operative thought and action.

Many of the techniques of democratic administration and group development can be utilized by church leaders to make the churches more "democratic." Then with knowledge and training in democratic methods, church leaders can examine and learn the community process.

Not a Rubber Stamp

Motivated by concern for the individual, church leaders can help others in the community to analyze what democratic participation really means. "The democratic process" need not be an empty phrase. Since we live in a democratic society, it is being tested in everything we do. It is at lesser efficiency when as administrators we set up one-way communications—always from the top down; or when as preachers we never allow congregations to test their views against ours in face-to-face discussion. In general the democratic process fails where *active* participation is limited and *passive* participation is encouraged.

In a recent leaflet published by the Council, Jefferson's statement is recalled: "I know of no safe depository of the ultimate powers of society but the people themselves." The Council believes that the people can retain the power through strong local communities—where people "belong" and take part in community affairs; where people know what is going on—in the community and in the world; where every citizen votes and good men hold office; where people work together for the good of the whole community; where people build a stable economic base and plan for the future; where enterprise—management and labor—functions as a good citizen for the common good; where citizens face up to their problems—in housing, discrimination, recreation, schools, planning, or job opportunities; and where every citizen has a hand in building a better community.

If the church, more than any other institution, is concerned with the development of the individual as a whole being, then the church must recognize what is happening in the community environment to prevent this whole development. By sheer size and complexity community life gets more specialized and regimented, and individuals get pushed more and more into the background. Only by giving individuals a role in community affairs can we reverse this trend.

Community participation is simple in principle and difficult in operation. The principle is one of developing a *truly representative group* (all interests, creeds, points of view) that looks at the community as a whole, studies the needs and problems of the community, learns of resources available, informs the people of what it finds and recommends, encourages and facilitates co-operation and co-ordination of all organizations in tackling problems, and makes possible more and more citizen participation in solving problems.

No one group in the community can do this job alone. It will take the best efforts of all groups—the church, educational institutions, economic, welfare, and cultural agencies pulling together. And by building better communities we can build the surest road to a secure and peaceful world.

Here's a Scoreboard that Quickly Sizes up a Community

Have you ever tried to rate your town strictly on its merits? The New York State Citizens Council has prepared these questions which will help you to appraise your town. And you can see how your town rates on the scoreboard printed on the next page.

Says the Council: "An individual's responsibility gets lost in a maze of laws, politics, bureaus, and pressure groups. But the community is the people. People must run the government. Men and women must guide churches, schools, hospitals, and libraries. When citizens ring up a good score, democracy wins!" What's your town's score?

How Does Your Town Rate?

(10 for good, 5 for fair, 0 for poor) SCORE HERE

Education—Does your town make modern education available to every child, youth, and adult? Are its schools uncrowded, properly equipped, and in good physical condition? Are the teachers highly qualified and well paid? ______

Housing and Planning—Is every family decently housed? Is there continuous planning for improvement of residential areas, parks, highways, other community essentials? Are parking, traffic, transportation problems under control? ______

Religion—Is full opportunity for religious expression accorded to every individual in your community? Are your churches strong and well supported? ______

Equality of Opportunity—Do people of different races, religions, nationalities have full chance for employment and taking part in community life? Are dangerous tensions kept at a minimum by avoidance of discrimination and injustices? ______

Economic Development—Are good jobs available? Do labor, industry, agriculture, and Government work together to insure the sound economic growth of your community? ______

Cultural Opportunities—Are your citizens' lives strengthened by ample occasion to enjoy music, art, and dramatics? Does your community have a professionally administered library service which benefits people of all ages? Do your newspapers and radio carefully review the affairs of the community? ______

Recreation—Are there enough supervised playgrounds and facilities for outdoor activities? And does your community offer full opportunity to take part in arts and crafts, in photography, and in other hobbies? ______

Health and Welfare—Is there a positive approach to improving the health of the entire community? Are medical care and hospitalization readily available? Is provision made for underprivileged children, the aged, and the handicapped? Can families in trouble secure the assistance they need? ______

Government—Do capable citizens seek public office? Are your officials concerned above all with community betterment? Does controversy stem from honest differences of opinion and not from squabbles over privilege? ______

Community Organization—Is there an organization (community forum, citizens council, or community federation), representative of the entire town, that is working for the advancement of the whole community? Do your citizens have opportunity to learn about and take part in their local affairs? Is there an organized community-wide discussion program? And do specialized organizations give vigorous attention to each important civic need? ______

THIS IS HOW YOU RATE YOUR TOWN TOTAL ______

(100, good; 50, fair; 0, poor)

NOT PROBLEMS, BUT PEOPLE

By **JOHN PARK LEE**, ***Director, Division of Welfare Agencies, Presbyterian Board of Pensions.***

AGE brings opportunities as well as limitations, growth as well as deterioration, pleasure as well as pain, ripening faith as well as disillusion.

It was this realization that made the 1950 National Conference on the Aging so significant—the members of the conference came home with the understanding that they were to be concerned with people, not problems.

People have problems. But the problems cannot be attacked apart from the people who have them. This obvious statement has not been so obvious as it should have been. We have considered older people in relationship to their numbers, their ratio to the total population, their average income, their housing, their employment, their diseases and disabilities. But we have been in grave danger of forgetting the prime fact that they are people.

Even the Church, supposedly the custodian and advocate of the truth that each individual is beloved of God and hence has infinite value, has succumbed to the heresy of statistics, tending to count the older people in its midst, to consider ways of easing them gently out of positions of responsibility, and thinking of them as problems vexing the Church and holding back its advance.

Out of this great conference, to which came more than 800 of the country's leading physicians, educators, clergymen, social workers, emerged the original truth about old people, stated in the following words by the Religious Section:

"Religion tells us that our life is never completely our own but is a stewardship from God. Consequently we honor that life as something extremely precious. It is lived out in the limitations of time and space but its implications are timeless and universal. We respect the life which is in our keeping in all its stages from infancy to old age. We respect the life of other people.

"In our responsibility to God there is also responsibility for and toward our fellow men. We are our brothers' keepers. So we have respect for the older years of a person's life. For in each person, no matter what his chronological age, we see our common heritage, the image of God."

The nine other sections of the conference, concerned with various phases of human life, said virtually the same thing but couched their conclusions in different terms. There was present an amazing humility, repeatedly expressed by the various sections in such phrases as: "We don't know"; "We must try to find out"; "More research is needed in this area." There was repeated emphasis on individuality, on the unique nature of each person, of his refusal to fit neatly into a carefully tailored niche.

THE conference emphasized the opportunities of old age as well as the problems that aging brings. There were ceaseless repetitions of the contributions older people are making and can make to the enrichment of our common life. There was awareness that a society that includes an increasing number of older people has strengths not to be found in groups composed solely of the young and middle-aged.

Out of this conference has already developed a more intelligent and more realistic approach to the changes being brought about by the increasing number of those over 65. In our present national population there are 11,500,000 people over 65—eight out of every 100. By 1975 they will number 20,000,000. State, county, and community committees are being formed to unite all the skills and concerns of our people for wise solutions and sensible adjustments. Legislation relating to older persons is being restudied; institutional care is being brought under examination; pension plans, both public and private, will be overhauled.

Research, as funds become available, will delve into the physical origins and causes of aging. The diseases or processes of deterioration, commonly associated with aging, are being attacked with new boldness. The dietitians are re-examining the abilities of older bodies to utilize different types of foods. The psychologists and psychiatrists are being stimulated to new studies of man's mental and emotional processes as he ages.

The changes in our distribution of population—the steady movement of people from farms to cities and the more recent movement of people from cities to suburban areas—have created new difficulties for our older people, and these sociological factors are attracting the interest of research workers.

But, warned the conference, all the studies, programs, research, must never forget that they are concerned with people, not statistics. The basic needs of human beings—new opportunities and experiences, security, recognition, and love, including the love of God—must be satisfied in the later years of life as well as in youth and early maturity, if our older friends and neighbors are to have the happiness and inner peace we crave for ourselves.

ONE section of the conference, dealing with Religious Programs and Services, spoke directly to the churches of the country. But the whole conference spoke to the Church as well, although its remarks were not so specifically directed.

In particular, said the Religious Section, the Church has an obligation to meet the special spiritual needs of later years, which are:

- *Assurance of God's continuing love.*
- *The certainty that life is protected.*
- *Relief from heightened emotions.*
- *Relief from the pangs of loneliness.*
- *A perspective that embraces both time and eternity.*
- *Continuing spiritual growth through new experiences.*
- *A satisfying status in life and continuing acceptance by one's peers and younger persons.*
- *A feeling of continuing usefulness.*

In seeking to satisfy these special needs, which are not too different from the needs of persons at all ages, the Church has special resources which give it a unique advantage. The Church offers a basic view of life which satisfies doubts and overcomes fears. Again a quotation from the Religious Section is to the point:

"Churches answer the question, 'Why do I grow older?' by stating that aging is part of God's plan for man. Religion shows man how aging can produce a creative interpersonal relationship between man and God which may grow deeper and stronger with the years. Age, then, need hold no terrors, no feeling of deterioration, or limitation, but rather a deepening feeling of security and serenity as each day brings us nearer to God. We accept aging as another evidence of the munificent, divine Providence which shelters and protects us all."

THE minister has a special responsibility (how easy for a layman to write those words!) which begins with himself. He must not fear age. No man who is afraid of growing old can successfully minister to older people. His fear makes itself evident either in hostility or aversion toward older people or in total inability to understand older people and hence to help them. A man fearful of time can offer little assurance of God's love to those whom time is claiming.

The minister must not attempt to treat older people as if they were children to be coaxed, coerced, chided, or coddled. He must always remember that they are adults and that they will respond only to an approach that recognizes their maturity as having value and their experience as worth-while. He must not tell them what to do, but must arouse their interest in doing things and assist them, if they request it, in performance. He can suggest that he would find the assistance of an older person valuable to the work of the

Church but only if he believes it.

Sessions, boards of trustees, boards of deacons, and women's associations can utilize the abilities, the interest, and the experience of older men and women in ways that will provide an answer to the spiritual needs of the older people and promote the work of the Church. Age, alone, should never be considered a barrier to service in the life of the Church.

SOCIAL action committees of the Church and church members as citizens and members of their communities can make their important contribution to the welfare of older people by supporting intelligent legislation relating to their specific needs, by helping to educate the general community as to the capacities of older people and the contributions they can make if the opportunities are provided.

The Presbyterian Church numbers among its members thousands of employers in factories, stores, offices, and other establishments, great and small. They now have available to them a growing body of data on work capabilities of older people, and the conference would urge them to restudy their present retirement programs, especially those plans which compel retirement at certain ages, with a view to making them flexible and hence more realistic.

Churchmen in the ranks of organized labor now have conference backing as they attempt to provide work and adequate income for their older colleagues.

The conference meetings were replete with examples of the contributions older people are making to community life—the outstanding services of such civic leaders as Baruch or Hoover or Stimson, as well as the little services of an older woman who addresses the envelopes for her club meetings, the older man who organizes a men's club in his church, the retired professor who lectures on current events, the grandmother who baby-sits for the young couples in her block.

The conference reiterated the fact that calendar age is meaningless and that 65 is just a number without real significance as a limitation or barrier. The conference was reminded by the Census Bureau that 45 per cent of the men and 9.5 per cent of the women over 65 are still part of our country's labor forces and are actively producing in factory and office, farm and store.

Old age does have its problems, but it is not in itself a problem any more than is infancy, adolescence, early maturity, and middle age. There is danger, real danger, that we become so obsessed with the difficulties that we forget the great contributions older people can make and are making to our common welfare.

We can avoid this danger if we never forget that older persons are not problems, but people.

GAMBLING—WHAT *IS* THE ANSWER?

Condensed and adapted from an article by **PAUL S. DELAND,** *Managing Editor of* The Christian Science Monitor, ***Boston, Massachusetts.***

GANGSTERS and racketeers have seized and organized gambling in the United States, with stakes running into an estimated fifteen billion dollars annually. They have made it such a menace to good government and society that a concerted drive is being made to halt the debauchery and corruption that are unbelievable to the average person.*

Inadequate Federal Laws

Until recently, January, 1951, the Federal Government has been handicapped, because of limited laws, in attempting to prevent or prosecute gambling. For the most part, laws designed to curb gambling are within the jurisdiction of the states as a matter of states' rights. Except for the prosecution of tax evasion by gamblers, about the only statutes under which the Federal Bureau of Investigation has been able to bring charges have been those relating to embezzlement, theft, or use of fraudulent games with passengers traveling on buses, railroads, or gambling on the high seas, or transporting lottery tickets on public carriers across interstate lines.

Many state laws are surprisingly liberal in permitting gambling, and since the gambling racket is an interstate problem, stricter Federal regulations are thought to be necessary; and such legislation has been asked for by United States Senator Estes Kefauver, of Tennessee, who leads the Senate Crime Investigating Committee. The need for further Federal authority in this matter has also been stressed by many students of law and social well-being.

Experience with Legalization

There are those who argue that legalization will control the problem. But the history of gambling in the United States proves that its legalization has invariably increased gambling with all its attendant criminal evils. Of course, legalization means acceptance of a practice, putting an official O.K. or "go ahead" sign on it. While the intention ostensibly is to regulate gambling, experience shows that legalization opens the door to abuses, wherever it has been tried.

This is due in large measure to the fact that the penalties are inadequate. Instead of the retrogressive step of legalization, it would seem far more logical and effective to set a high standard, making gambling nationally unlawful with increased penalties for violations.

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* (EDITOR'S NOTE: A bill prohibiting the interstate shipment of slot machines and like gambling devices, except to states where this has been legalized, was signed in January by President Truman.)

Some states have legalized pari-mutuel betting on horse races, beano, and lotteries conducted for charitable benefits. A small bet on a horse race may seem harmless to some, but small and large bets together produce some fifteen billion dollars in rackets operated by professionals who control the industry and are uncontrolled by public officials.

Nevada, which has less restriction and probably more gambling than any other state in the Union, has experienced an influx of gamblers, racketeers, and gangsters. The crime, misery, suffering, corruption, and general disorder and lawlessness that have followed legalization of gambling are graphically illustrated also in the history of Louisiana, where the Louisiana Lottery Company once flourished. The New Orleans gamblers brought about unendurable conditions that aroused the citizens. As a result, some gamblers migrated to Vicksburg, where they created such corruption that the citizens revolted, raided the gambling dens, broke their equipment, tarred and feathered the gamblers, and drove them out of town—thus demonstrating that the gambler can be suppressed if the citizens so desire.

Proposal to Legalize Gambling in New York

Mayor William O'Dwyer of New York City made the headlines several months ago when he proposed legalized gambling as an added source of revenue. First he announced a city-wide crackdown on bookmaking and other forms of gambling, with fifty-one top police officials shifted. This was said to be in anticipation of the attorney general's move to drive out gamblers. Secondly, the mayor stated that he would not favor wide-open gambling, but gambling controlled by the state. Even in the face of a long list of contrary experiences, the mayor claimed that the criminal element could not possibly endure in gambling because of supervision by the state's licensing agency.

Those who believe that the only way to combat gambling is not to let it get even a toe hold through legalization pointed out that when Fiorello La Guardia was mayor of New York in 1934-1935 he made encouraging headway in driving out the gamblers, racketeers, and gangsters.

The Federal Council of Churches reacted at once to fight the proposal for state-controlled gambling by reaffirming the statement adopted in 1935 in "vigorous opposition to gambling . . . as an insidious menace to personal character and morality. By encouraging the idea of getting something for nothing," the Council declared, "of getting a financial return without rendering any service, gambling tends to undermine the basic ideals of public welfare."

Attitude of the Press

Some newspapers and magazines do not oppose betting. Indeed, there is reason to believe that by publishing racing entries, "scratches," odds, and results (as many papers and radio stations do), they facilitate in their capacity as purveyors of news what so often they inveigh against editorially. Some lend their columns to the practice and thereby encourage it, while others vigorously crusade against it.

The Saturday Evening Post, Collier's, Life, Business Week, and many other magazines have published exposés of gambling rackets that should stir citizens into action.

There is ample evidence to convict the organized racketeers who bleed the bettors, but to what degree they are punished depends upon public attitudes and the officials who are empowered to prosecute. Whether the racketeers are to be driven out rests largely with those whose habits and desires result in legislation. While the number of gamblers is high, available figures do not indicate that they are in the majority. Since this is a democratic republic and a majority are said to be against gambling, their wishes should prevail. The question is, Should the majority rule, or surrender to a minority that plays into the hands of those who are robbing them of billions of dollars a year, dollars that are used to corrupt officials, ruin lives, despoil youth, and generally wreak havoc with society?

Fortunately there is a powerful group of public-spirited citizens determinedly at work to defeat the racket. They will not surrender, and eventually their efforts are bound to bring about better conditions.

Massachusetts Survey

The latest survey of gambling conditions existing in the nation has recently been completed by the Citizens Committee of Massachusetts, a joint venture by Boston businessmen and clergymen. Originally organized in 1940 for an attack on pari-mutuel gambling, the committee was reactivated after the war to attack all forms of gambling, which it points out sap the economic strength of the nation.

The initial step in the committee's planned antigambling campaign has been a four-month survey of pari-mutuel gambling, in-plant betting, numbers pools, slot machine pools, and the human tragedy following in the wake of these practices. The survey indicated that business and civic groups and even militant clergymen had little concrete information or clear recognition of the seriousness of the gambling problem.

The recommendations of the committee center around long-range programs to acquaint the public with the economic losses involved in gambling, to work closely with law enforcement agencies in securing important data now woefully lacking, and to build up community organizations for the procurement of funds and the achievement of larger representations in social, religious, political, and business fields. The committee is definitely opposed to legalized gambling in all its variations.

Conditions in California

For years, gamblers and underworld elements have been moving into the fertile territory of California, with the result that the California Crime Committee has been conducting an investigation. One of the most revealing studies of the menace of gambling is the second progress report of the Special Crime Study Commission on Organized Crime made to Governor Earl Warren.

The system of communications operated for legitimate business is one of the devices misused by the "bookies." The telephone and telegraph industries, for example, are used by the larger gambling syndicates with the knowledge of utilities officials, and elaborate installations have been made to facilitate their use. Efforts to prevent such abuse of legitimate forms of communication by the horse racing interests have had only limited success. Since wire service is an interstate matter, the California report recommends action by the Federal Communications Commission.

Gamblers Anonymous

As in the case of liquor addiction, many independent efforts are being made to "cure" addiction to gambling. Fashioned somewhat after Alcoholics Anonymous, a group in California organized Gamblers Anonymous in January, 1949. It all began at a social gathering one evening when one individual, who now directs the organization, mentioned that racing bets had cost him upward of $20,000. His companions confessed to having dropped similar amounts. Before long there was a lively discussion, which resulted in the formation of a mutual-help group, with the purpose of encouraging people to cure themselves of the betting habit. Thousands are now enrolled and the movement has spread to other states.

As an ideal, a cohesive mutual goal, these people set for themselves the task of combating the source of the evil—the race tracks themselves. In a comparatively short time they had compiled "thousands of affidavits" from merchants of every type in communities where race tracks exist. Clothing stores, appliance and furniture dealers, restaurant owners, department store people, all testified that racing had depleted the otherwise ready cash of thousands of people who might otherwise channel millions of dollars into community commerce.

Gamblers Anonymous are aware that racing in California is an entrenched, wealthy behemoth, able to buy its way into legislatures and councils, mayoralties and attorney generalships, with considerable success. Their first strategy was to draft a petition to amend the state constitution to abolish horse racing in California. The petition required upward of 200,000 signatures to qualify for the November, 1950, ballot, and after qualification, every trick in the political bag was used to defeat the measure. Gambling interests spent enormous funds to finance the campaign.

Naturally, Gamblers Anonymous realize that they cannot combat the evils of betting by wiping out racing in only one state, since daily race wires speed racing information everywhere in the country, and betting through the bookmaker far outweighs betting at the track. But, say they, their membership is growing so incredibly fast that they will soon be able to work on a national scale. Already they are establishing branches in other cities, and in due time they expect to put antiracing bills on the ballot in New York, Florida, Illinois, and Maryland.

A Question of Public Morality

Whether or not these and other efforts will prevail over the vested gambling interests depends, in the last analysis, upon the moral tone of our present and future citizenry. To prohibit or legalize gambling involves law, and since laws spring from customs, habits, and practices of people, it is obviously necessary to go back into the agencies that inculcate, build, and control these habits. Important in this molding process are the church, the home, the school, motion pictures, books, magazines, and newspapers. Courts and police are prosecuting rather than preventive agencies.

To maintain a society with Christian character, we need a firm, solid foundation, with moral objectives higher than we reach on the average. Laws to prohibit gambling and its attendant evils set a better standard than legalization and approval.

To claim that we should legalize gambling because people do it anyway is, according to many authorities, fallacious argument. If such reasoning were logically followed we would legalize murder, thievery, and every other crime.

Reports everywhere indicate that an aroused public, which realizes its grave responsibility, has begun a determined battle to restore a more law-abiding society. Leading in the fight are churches, parents, civic organizations, legislators, and public officials, who still believe in the principles upon which this nation was founded, has prospered, and will endure.

A CHILD IN THEIR MIDST

A famous psychiatrist observed at the close of World War II that all future wars could be avoided if we could raise a single generation of mature, secure individuals.

MID-POINT in a century of crisis, 5,700 Americans gathered in Washington December 3-7, 1950, to consider our nation's most precious resources—our children and young people—and to decide what must be done to secure for every child "a fair chance for a healthy personality." Educators, churchmen, sociologists, social workers, psychologists, doctors, professional and lay leaders representing every field of service to children and from every state and territory of the United States attended this Mid-Century White House Conference on Children and Youth.

For more than a year these delegates and thousands of their concerned colleagues in private and Government agencies, on county, state, and territorial committees, had been preparing for the fifth national conference on children to be called by the President of the United States. They had made county and state surveys, collected data from 464 national participating organizations, assembled facts about present and future needs of children, and pooled all available knowledge of child care and development. Then hard-working committees toiled to organize and assimilate this funded store of knowledge and prepared four printed digests—each a marvel of conciseness and readability—which were the working papers of the conference.

Religion and Youth

Four previous conferences had widely influenced most of the existing child and youth services, and paved the way for the enactment of our present laws safeguarding the health and welfare of children; each had been valuable and far-reaching in its research and recommendations. But the fifth conference was the first to stress spiritual and moral values in the development of personality, and the first to include the young people themselves. Not just a token sprinkling of teen-agers, but a phalanx of five hundred arrived from farms, high schools, colleges, and youth organizations.

There was a sense of grim urgency about this conference that was lacking in the others, as confusion and fear mounted over international events and our country's unprecedented program of rearmament and militarization.

(Continued on page 18)

An App

"THE GREAT DEBATE"

"The Great Debate" on foreign policy that many editors heralded when Senator Taft challenged the President's right to send large forces to Europe is a "dud." To date the debate in Washington on the proposed armaments program is primarily an argument on military strategy. Not a few Congressmen are dissatisfied with the present united front in Washington on the Universal Military Service and Training issue. But that uneasiness has not yet found the elements of a great debate in the Defense Department's proposal to impose a permanent conscription system on the American people under "emergency" pressures. General Marshall's statement before the House Armed Services Committee that "today no voice is listened to . . . unless it has adequate steel to support it" is a crashing sentence that some might confuse with the old European policy of "the mailed fist." Now it takes its place beside other dogmas, such as: "We must lead from strength"; "The only language Russia understands is force." These arguments are apparently convincing to our enemies. So much so that the Chinese representatives at the United Nations, with Korea in their grasp, undertook to "lead from strength." We properly called it blackmail and protested we would not negotiate at the point of a gun.

If Russia and her satellites understand only force and this is the only power we employ, can we expect that Russia will "listen" and will not try to talk back in the same language? Is military force the language of free men? We know the language of truth, of faith, of compassion—the power of good that can overcome evil, even the desperate evil of atheistic Communism. It is time to speak out, consistently and persistently, in that language to all people of the earth. We should rebuke those who in our name speak with another voice, for example, by refusing $200 million worth of grain to the starving people of India because they did not vote to please us in the United Nations, thus "jamming" the true "Voice of America."

It is very late, but not yet too late for a genuine and great debate to be joined by the American people. We, the people, have a right to make the freest examination of the course to which we may be committed. We have a right to require an honest, full estimate of our leaders concerning the total cost, the course, and the end of the course they propose. There is a proper concern among the people lest by design or by blindness we are

to Faith

being inched steadily farther down the road to war, with one step requiring the next, until the fatal one is taken. Yesterday, a great armed force was advocated as the best guarantee of peace. Today, the private opinion of Congressmen is not that our great armaments will deter aggression but that they are essential for a war that is inescapable—the atomic war that no one can win. Thus we were persuaded to arm for the *eventuality* of war, and we discover that arming has made it an *inevitability!* When a prominent Congressman said privately that we must have a great army for the inevitable conflict with Russia, his visitor replied: "If the course recommended leads clearly to atomic war—as I agree it does—then we should write over that way, 'Dead End Street,' and stay out of it at all costs." Such counsel is discounted as negativism by those advocating conscription. They demand that an alternative course be proposed. It should be made clear that it is a positive proposal to urge a nation to follow no course so fatal. As long as we continue in this way, we will have neither the will nor the strength to find and pursue a way that has some promise of peace.

"The Great Debate" waits on your action in your church. Inquiry groups should be immediately formed to examine proposed solutions in the light of the Word of God under the guidance of the Holy Spirit. Study the pronouncements of the General Assembly that include such warnings as:

> "We reaffirm our historic position of opposition to peacetime military conscription as constituting a dangerous extension of regimentation by government, an inadequate measure of defense in an atomic age, and a violation of the spirit of our present determination to secure the multilateral reduction of arms and armies." "It is imperative that the crass militarization of our nation and of the nations of the world be checked now." "There is genuine peril that our own defense measures may precipitate the very war we fear, and that our free economy will be crushed beneath the intolerable burden of armaments."

Search the Scriptures. The Word of God is in this dark day a lamp to our feet. Study the Gospels. Study *God and the Nations*, available at all bookstores. Then *write your Congressmen of your decision* as to the way you believe God calls us to go—the one course to which we are ready to devote our lives and commit our sons.

—*Paul Newton Poling.*

A Child in Their Midst

(Continued from page 15)

There was grim irony, too, that a conference founded on deep reverence for life should be meeting just after the release and distribution of a Government pamphlet on *Survival Under Atomic Attack.*

As the nation's experts sought to safeguard the future lives of children, two emphases emerged: (1) "Services to children must be strengthened to provide as much protection as possible from the hazards of war and the disrupting factors of mobilization"; (2) "young people, on whom the main burden of the crisis will fall, must be given whatever support they need to face the difficulties ahead."

Robert Bondy, chairman of the Advisory Council on National Organizations, forecast the many grave effects of the crisis upon children: "an increase in tensions and a resultant weakening of the setting for a healthy personality; severe housing shortages; overcrowding and dislocations in defense areas; widespread employment of teen-agers and the mothers of young children; separation of families; regimentation of the nation's youth."

Stand on UMT and Human Rights

There was sharp debate in work sessions on Universal Military Training. One work group sent down a recommendation favoring it as being more fair than the present system of selective service. But the conference body voted it down. Some voices firmly protested the dangers of mass militarism but no proposals were advanced for stopping it.

Delegates did adopt forthright recommendations about religious and racial discrimination. Panels and work groups clearly agreed that discrimination and segregation harmed "discriminators" as well as the "discriminated against" and were a major deterent to healthy personality development.

The conference itself with its completely nonsegregated sessions and improvised cafeteria service was a shining example of integration in segregated Washington. Representatives of the major faiths and white, Negro, American Indian, Chinese, Hawaiian, Japanese American, and Spanish American delegates came from 48 states and 4 territories, joined by 292 foreign observers including Carlos Romulos, chief of the Philippine delegation to the United Nations. The states had been specifically instructed to send delegations that truly represented their population groups, and only Georgia's Governor Talmadge had ignored the edict and commissioned an all-white group. But special invitations to other Georgians finally brought Georgia's group up to the conference's democratic standard.

For weeks before the conference the staff and housing committee had worked to get Washington's hotel and restaurant operators to open their doors to *all* delegates, but only a few hotels yielded to their pressure. However, the youth delegates were housed at Fort Myers, Virginia, where many young people had their first experience in interracial living. A large group of young people attempted without success to get the conference to adopt a recommendation that no future welfare conference sponsored by the Federal Government should be held in Washington until the district had abolished segregation. Before adjournment, however, the conference had recommended steps to eliminate all types of racial and religious segregation throughout the nation, and proposed an amendment to the President's civil rights program that the Federal Government abolish segregation in Washington.

Panels and work groups considered the effects of economic forces on children. Although the average family income reached $3,178 in 1948 when the national income was at an all-time high, many families are not well off. A disproportionately large group of underprivileged families are Negro. In the lowest income group are the families of sharecroppers and migratory farm laborers. Then, too, families with the most children have incomes far below national average. One child out of every two in large cities lives in a family with inadequate income. The conference also discussed what is "adequate" income, and agreed to the City Worker's Family Budget standard. This budget varies from city to city, but averages about $3,200 for a city family of four. It is higher than the relief level, but at today's prices it certainly allows no luxuries. Work groups agreed that a national economy of full employment is essential to stable family life.

Religion had a significant place throughout the conference—beginning with Dr. George Buttrick's keynote address at the opening session and continuing through panels and workshop discussions. Laymen of the three major faiths were represented on executive and planning committees, including Presbyterian Leonard W. Mayo, who was one of the conference vice-chairmen. Clergymen and lay religious leaders of the three faiths unanimously insisted that spiritual values were essential to sound personality development.

Bridging the Gulf Between Church and Community

The place of church and synagogue in community life was recognized in every panel and workshop dealing with community planning and organization. It was assumed that churchmen of various faiths would take their rightful roles of leadership in neighborhood and community councils, and clergymen and lay leaders who did not were criticized.

In one panel group social workers and schoolmen from two rural areas deplored the high turnover in church leadership and wished that churches in smaller towns were not just "steppingstones to larger, more lucrative pulpits." Said they: "Just as we get to know the minister and he gets to know his way around our county, he moves on and we have to begin all over again. Our whole area lacks strong, continuing leadership. If the preachers have to move, why don't they train more people to work along with them and carry on?"

Experts in community relations urged the organization of citizens councils to bring diverse and conflicting interests of the community together, and wanted more churchmen to take the lead in forming such groups.

The church was also acknowledged as a *potentially* powerful force for social improvement, but not many educators or social workers were aware of the social action program of the major denominations.

There was sharp division of opinion on the released-time issue—the use of public schools for religious teaching came to a vote in different forms, and those interested in keeping religious teaching out of tax-supported schools won when the conference affirmed the principle of separation of Church and State and voted a short substitute amendment for a fuller recommendation of points.

The fact that the conference voted down this section is regrettable but also understandable. It was unrealistic to assume that a nontheological body would be willing to accept certain theological concepts especially when one workshop had argued for over an hour about the meaning of "God" vs. "Supreme Being." Then, too, conference leadership was wary of any efforts that Roman Catholic delegates might make to put the conference on record for tax aid to parochial schools, and was determined to stand firm on the traditional American separation of Church and State.

The cleavage between schoolmen and Protestant and Roman Catholic churchmen over released time (Jewish leaders sided with the educators here), and the reluctance of many social workers to support the clergy's conviction that religion is basic to healthy personality, indicated a gulf between organized religion and two large and important professional groups—educators and social workers.

The conference also showed up certain critical attitudes of social workers toward the counseling and educational programs of some churches. While increasing numbers of clergymen are using the best techniques of counseling from mental health and psychiatry, yet the educational programs of the Church sometimes bring "judgment" and more feelings of guilt and rejection to children and youth instead of understanding. As the Fact Finding report cited, "Being told to 'buck up,' to 'do what you feel is right,' is not helpful to a person whose very difficulties arise out of conditions which render it impossible for him to take charge of his life and make wise decisions."

Yes, the White House Conference pointed up the gaps and failures, but it also pointed up the positive things that church, home, and community can do together.

Follow Up Suggestions

Before the last of 5,700 delegates had left, many plans for getting recommendations and findings into action were already under way. The final plenary session authorized the appointment of a national committee which immediately met to organize. The 133 delegates from the states and territories voted to continue their advisory council, and the state committees called into being by territorial and state governors are being reactivated. Many states have already begun their postconference projects and study.

The list of state committee chairmen is available from the Division of Social Education and Action, 830 Witherspoon Building, Philadelphia 7.

Church leaders ought to be working closely with these state groups by serving on state and county committees and by co-operative social research and action. The conference set a standard of teamwork among the professions, and between public and private organizations. If it were followed in every community, the gulf between professional groups would soon be bridged.

Later this spring the Conference Proceedings and selected papers will be available. By fall the complete Fact Finding report will be published in book form. These materials ought to be in every church school library for discussion and study by youth groups, parents, and teachers, and made the basis of social action programs by SEA secretaries and chairmen.

White House Conference Findings are also pertinent to our Presbyterian institutions—hospitals, children's homes, schools, and summer camps. Directors and boards of these Church agencies will find guidance and direction from the country's best technicians.

Much is to be done in the months to come by many groups and in many ways, and with full recognition by church, home, and community of the facts and skills and insights needed to rear generations of happy, healthy, secure, responsible citizens.—*Margaret E. Kuhn.*

Of Significance to Churchmen

A condensation of the recommendations approved at the final session of the White House Conference—of special interest to Social Education and Action leaders.

Study and Research—The expansion of research on child development and adjustment, under both public and voluntary auspices. Further study of the underlying causes of broken homes. Continuous scientific study of needs, objectives, alternatives, and effectiveness of all services. Comprehensive study of present state and Federal laws relating to children and families.

Citizen Responsibility—Acceptance of citizen responsibility for providing adequate community programs in education, health, recreation, and social service, making full use of all resources. Broad representation from community groups including youth, and the use of technical assistance in planning and carrying out programs.

Family Life Education—Availability of education for family life through educational, health, religious, and welfare agencies. Efforts to foster parents' feelings of self-confidence, especially through the tone of child development material.

Education—Federal aid to education "without Federal control" for educational services in tax-supported public schools, "the issue of auxiliary services to be considered on its merits in separate legislation." The inclusion of nursery schools and kindergartens as a part of public educational opportunity. The extension of opportunities for higher education to qualified youth unable to pay their way. Abolition of racial segregation in education.

Recreation—The provision of recreation centers in all neighborhoods where children live. Establishment of official state recreation agencies to provide counsel to local communities, particularly small towns and rural areas. Participation of youth in recreation planning.

Religion—Recognition of "religious and ethical concepts as essential to the development of spiritual values" and of their importance to the home and in institutions of organized religion. Affirmation of the principle of separation of Church and State, and opposition to the use of the public schools directly or indirectly for religious educational purposes. The expansion and strengthening of religious personnel, services, and activities in rural communities and areas of special economic need, and for persons of inadequate income.

Economic Aid—The provision of free school lunches for children unable to pay. The elimination of "restrictive eligibility provisions" from public assistance programs. Adequate Federal grants to the states for public assistance, varied according to ability of the states to pay. Expansion of old-age and survivors insurance to workers not presently included. Similar improvement of state unemployment insurance laws. A greater variety of community services to increase the real income of lower income groups.

Discrimination—Support of the President's civil rights program. Prompt steps to "eliminate all types of racial and religious segregation." Appeal to the Federal Government to abolish segregation in Washington.

Migrants—Extension of protection and services to children of migrants, especially in regard to transportation, housing, sanitation, health, and educational services, social benefits, labor exploitation.

Employment—Extension of guidance and counseling services in schools, employment offices, and youth agencies and recognition of the emotional factors in vocational adjustment. Establishment and enforcement of standards of youth employment, including minimum age, wages, and working conditions. Provision of appropriate part-time work opportunities for young people.

Housing—Maintenance of standards of construction. Full speed ahead in construction of 810,000 low-rent housing units. Development of a co-operative housing program for the middle-income groups. Support of slum clearance and urban redevelopment.

Mass communications—Acceptance of social responsibility on the part of industry and community agencies using television and other mass media. Reservation by the Federal Communications Commission of TV channels for noncommercial educational stations.

Defense—Sharing by all individuals and groups of sacrifices in the present emergency, and some use of the services of men with disabilities. Improvement of personnel, evaluation, placement, vocational guidance and counseling, by civilian and military agencies to promote the utilization of our total human resources. Provision of adequate allowances for servicemen's families. Participation of children and youth in a way to minimize their anxieties.

International—Full support to voluntary efforts and Governmental programs of an international character in behalf of children and youth.

FOR A UNITED COMMUNITY

A conference to unite residents and property owners of all races, creeds, and national backgrounds in a community-wide program has been created in Hyde Park and Kenwood to maintain and advance community standards and morale in the face of an acute city-wide housing shortage and current population changes in Chicago, Illinois.

In November, 1949, forty residents of the area, including members of churches, temples, and civic organizations and fifteen of the community's new Negro residents, met to see whether the group could take the given sociological facts of community change—in particular, the movement of Negroes into the community—and begin to work out together a program that would make for understanding, co-operation, and responsible citizenship. This group formed a temporary steering committee to plan a general meeting of a much wider representation.

The next month, about three hundred community residents unanimously adopted this six-point statement of policy:

"We stand for

"1. Basic human rights for all.
"2. Dispelling fear by education.
"3. Maintenance and advancement of community standards against overcrowding.
"4. A constructive program for youth.
"5. Integration of all residents of all races and national backgrounds.
"6. Co-operation with city-wide agencies in a city-wide program."

At another general meeting it was decided that the Conference program should be based upon four planning-working groups: block organization; planning, zoning, and reconversion; community survey; and community organizations. All these groups immediately went to work on concrete tasks, gradually involving more and more residents in the work of the Conference. By the end of July approximately one thousand residents of the community were taking part in the movement.

In its short history the Conference has aroused great interest. People of all ethnic groups and walks of life have enthusiastically joined in the effort. City-wide experts say the Conference is "breaking new ground" and pointing the way to a significant new urban development.

—Hyde Park Baptist News, Chicago, Ill.
Hyde Park Baptist Church

CITIZENS COUNCIL ON DEMOCRATIC RIGHTS

A Conference of Organizations on Civil Rights was called by the Philadelphia Fellowship Commission in March, 1948. This resulted in the establishment of a permanent committee to aid minority groups in protecting their rights as citizens. The committee, originally composed of lawyers, quickly expanded to include others and became known as "Citizens Council on Democratic Rights." In November, 1949, it was incorporated, and plans were made for developing still wider community membership.

Here are some of the Council's activities:

Hospital Practices—It is well known that many hospitals and medical schools discriminate against applicants from minority groups. A survey has been completed in forty-five of sixty-three hospitals in this area concerning the existence, nature, and extent of discrimination on the basis of color—as applied to patients, internes, nurses in training, and permanent medical staff. Efforts are now being made to arrange conferences with hospital authorities to consider adoption of more democratic policies. This should result in more equitable hospital care and wider opportunities for professional training and research.

Swimming Pools—White and colored people have a right to swim together in public pools. Private operators of public swimming pools have defied, and law enforcement officials have ignored, for years, the Pennsylvania Civil Rights Act, which requires equal accommodations in places of public amusement and recreation, regardless of creed or color. Operators admit that under democratic principles pools should be opened to all, but fear loss of patronage at unsegregated pools.

The Citizens Council has gathered the necessary evidence and plans to institute court proceedings to help to enforce existing laws relating to swimming pools. It will also conduct an educational campaign to insure general community acceptance of interracial swimming, with the help of newspapers, civic leaders, organized labor and the churches.

Police Practices—Complaints alleging brutal, inhuman police treatment of persons accused of crime are under serious study by the Citizens Council. Negroes appear to be more frequently the victims of brutal mishandling. The injuries inflicted appear to be so serious and frequent that parts of this community live in a state of terror. However, other friendless and destitute persons in the custody of law enforcement suffer from official indifference regarding constitutionally guaranteed personal rights. Others suffer prolonged and undue detention awaiting trial.

The Council's committee of lawyers is preparing to take legal steps to secure for the accused their fair protection under our system of law, and to keep the public informed. Public officials will be encouraged to improve their methods of recruitment and training, to dismiss the sadists and others known to be disqualified.

Academic Freedom—A new committee will interpret the relationship of academic freedom to civil liberties, and implement the program of Citizens Council among teachers and students. The Council acts to insure fair hearings for teachers accused of heresy and insists upon their freedoms of association and belief.

Red Cross Blood—Citizens Council on Democratic Rights was one of the first to request the American National Red Cross to change its policy of designating whole blood according to the race of the donor. Thirteen national organizations were enlisted to co-operate in a strategy to cause the Red Cross to change this policy and conform to a wholly democratic standard. In November, 1950, the American Red Cross announced that blood would no longer be identified by race of the donor.

Radio—There have been recent attempts by local radio stations to censor certain political views. Equal opportunity for all to be heard makes the guarantee for free elections meaningful. Legal assistance is provided to insure the legal rights of all parties to equal use of radio time as required in the Federal Communications Act.

Public Education—The Council's educational program is conducted through community gatherings, the press, and by radio. Appearances in court by lawyers from the Executive Board or from a lawyers' panel now being established, and publicity incident to such appearances by outstanding Philadelphians should have a high educational value regarding democratic rights.

The organization seeks to stimulate in each citizen an awareness of the vital place civil rights occupy in American democracy, and a sense of responsibility for protecting those rights for all—recognizing that traditional liberties, of which we are justly proud, do not in reality exist for any of us if they are not in both law and practice.

In all such activities Citizens Council co-operates with other concerned groups. It rallies community support as its resources permit. It has a full-time executive director and one office secretary. It must rely greatly on the assistance of volunteers. Individual and organizational help is always welcome! The Council invites to membership all who would protect our human rights.

TRUCE FOR TEEN-AGE GROUPS

Four of New York's most dangerous teen-age gangs, made up of 250 boys, all of whom were involved in serious delinquency, have ceased gang warfare and stopped much of their stealing and truancy as the result of a three-year experimental project in Central Harlem sponsored by the Welfare Council.

The project, which is expected to have profound effects on recreation, group work, and crime prevention programs for youth not only in New York but nationally, showed that it was not new buildings or playgrounds that helped the boys, but the new feelings that were built up between them and the trained worker sent in to help them.

It demonstrated that young persons, even those who rebel against society, will try to please and win the approval of someone they feel cares enough about them. The worker accepted the boys as they were, without trying to "lay down the law." When he won their respect and admiration, he showed them that there was a better way of living than to fight society.

The project, known as the Central Harlem Street Clubs Project, began as a result of the serious concern in New York in 1945 over gang warfare and the killings and the injuries that followed. The report of the project traces the development of the program undertaken by six field workers, one of whom was a woman, each working with a gang.

There were four boys' gangs and an additional group of fifty girls involved in the lives of these boys. The young people all lived in slums where "most of the buildings are dilapidated, rat-infested, and without proper ventilation and light," according to the report.

Although the general rehabilitation of the gangs was far from complete, and they still smoked "reefers," drank, and gambled, their hostility and aggression diminished, and they began to view the future more hopefully and to feel that they were "somebody."

The boys gave up carrying weapons and ceased fighting in gangs (thus also setting the pattern for other groups, since these four gangs, as the toughest, were the key ones), but they still felt "it is important to be tough," the report continued. They engaged in more organized recreational programs than before and their feelings toward each other and their parents were more harmonious. Too, within the gangs there developed more democracy.

The report, printed in book form and called *Working with Teen-age Gangs*, also pointed out that none of the gangs had been organized for antisocial purposes but "developed out of a need for protection from the attacks of other gangs."

The project had no "program" as such. The field workers helped the boys with medical, recreational, and personal problems—indirectly, for the most part. The main idea was to help the boys become independent in their search for a constructive solution to their conflicts.

New York Times, Nov. 15, 1951

CITIZENSHIP AND LEGISLATION

Reciprocal Trade Agreements—The House Ways and Means Committee has approved, 18 to 7, a three-year extension of the reciprocal trade law, with no amendments. As we go to press, the bill is scheduled for an early vote in the House.

Universal Military Service and Training—Both Houses of Congress have been holding extensive hearings on the new draft bill (S. 1 and H.R. 1752). The measure amends the present selective service law by lowering the draft age to 18 years, requiring registration at 17 years, and extending the term of service from 21 to 27 months. After completing this term of service a man would be liable for from 3 to 6 years more in the Reserves. Congressional sentiment, more receptive to this idea of universal military service than at any previous time, has begun to waver under the impact of heavy mail from the "folks back home." Opposition to drafting 18-year-olds is mounting steadily and may result in vital changes in the Defense Department's bill.

President's Commission on Migratory Labor—The President has issued an executive order extending the life of this commission to March 1, 1951. The Commission had been slated to expire on December 15, 1950.

Housing and Community Services—The $3 billion Defense Housing and Community Facilities and Services Bill of 1951 has been introduced in both Houses and hearings are now under way, as we go to press. Chairman Maybank, of the Senate Committee, issued a statement commenting that this bill "is intended to equip the Federal Government to plan and develop housing and community facilities concurrently with plans for defense installations, and is sufficiently broad and flexible to meet various conditions, ranging from rapid expansion of activity in defense areas to major installations in nonindustrial areas, such as the Atomic Energy Commission's new projects in various states."

Some concern is felt that the Church-State issue may be a factor in the consideration of this bill since it does not stipulate that the funds for community facilities and services shall be confined to public agencies.

H.R. 1271—Just a year ago a Federal law went into effect setting a 16-year minimum age for work on commercial farms during school hours, except on home farms.

Already a bill to nullify this provision is before Congress. H.R. 1271, introduced on January 12 by Rep. Rogers of Texas, would permit county school superintendents to exempt children and would even permit school officials from their place of residence to exempt migrant children.

It is not difficult to foresee the great pressure that would be put upon local school officials to exempt children in crop-growing areas.

The efforts of states which are trying to get migrant children out of the fields and into school would be circumvented because a child could bring permission to work from his home state. A local school officer in Texas, for instance, could excuse Texas children working in Colorado from the Federal child labor law.

Children's Fund—The UN General Assembly has extended for three years the International Children's Emergency Fund. Since its establishment four years ago this Fund has handled $152,000,000 in child aid programs in sixty lands. In its operations the Children's Fund ignored "iron curtains" and the "cold war."

The United States, which contributes more than half the Fund's cash, registered an abstention on the final vote. Mrs. Edith

Sampson, speaking for the United States in the General Assembly debate, described the contemplated action as "unsatisfactory" on the ground that the Fund's projected program still emphasized the short-term emergency rather than long-range developments in the field of child care.

It was clear that the General Assembly was unimpressed by the U. S. charge that the Children's Fund was so preoccupied with emergency operations that it neglected much-needed long-term projects. The General Assembly had studied the Fund's activities over a three-year period and had agreed that these activities warranted the continued support and good will of UN.

It is hoped that the United States will not withhold support from the Children's Fund simply because the General Assembly voted contrary to the U.S. delegation.

STANDING COMMITTEES IN THE 82d CONGRESS

Here is the official alphabetical list of the chairmen of standing committees in the Senate and in the House of Representatives, as released on January 15, 1951.

File it for future reference. Christian citizens can often most effectively influence legislative policy when bills are "in committee" by communicating with committee chairmen as well as their own Representatives and Senators.

Chairmen of Standing Committees in the House

Agriculture—Harold D. Cooley, N. C.

Appropriations—Clarence Cannon, Mo.

Armed Services—Carl Vinson, Ga.

Banking and Currency—Brent Spence, Ky.

District of Columbia—John L. McMillan, S. C.

Education and Labor—Graham A. Barden, N. C.

Expenditures in the Executive Departments—William L. Dawson, Ill.

Foreign Affairs—John Kee, W. Va.

House Administration—Thomas B. Stanley, Va.

Interstate and Foreign Commerce—Robert Crosser, Ohio.

Judiciary—Emanuel Celler, N. Y.

Merchant Marine and Fisheries—Edward J. Hart, N. J.

Post Office and Civil Service—Tom Murray, Tenn.

Public Lands—John R. Murdock, Ariz.

Public Works—Charles A. Buckley, N. Y

Rules—Adolph J. Sabath, Ill.

Un-American Activities—John S. Wood, Ga.

Veterans' Affairs—John E. Rankin, Miss.

Ways and Means—Robert L. Doughton, N. C.

Chairmen of Standing Committees in the Senate

Agriculture and Forestry—Allen J. Ellender, La.

Appropriations—Kenneth McKellar, Tenn.

Armed Services—Richard B. Russell, Ga.

Banking and Currency—Burnet R. Maybank, S. C.

District of Columbia—Matthew M. Neely, W. Va.

Expenditures in the Executive Departments—John L. McClellan, Ark.

Finance—Walter F. George, Ga.

Foreign Relations—Tom Connally, Texas

Interior and Insular Affairs—Joseph C. O'Mahoney, Wyo.

Interstate and Foreign Commerce—Edwin C. Johnson, Col.

Judiciary—Pat McCarran, Nev.

Labor and Public Welfare—James E. Murray, Mont.

Post Office and Civil Service—Olin D. Johnston, S. C.

Public Works—Dennis Chavez, N. M.

Rules and Administration—Carl Hayden, Ariz.

Worth Looking Into

Economic Problems of Our Aged. A comprehensive study of the economic problems of an aging population and of the various private and public methods being used today to meet these problems has been launched by the Twentieth Century Fund. The whole range of old-age pensions, including private pension plans, business and industrial pensions, Government security provisions and veterans' pensions will be studied.

Following the survey an impartial, nonpartisan committee of experts will review the findings and make objective recommendations for Government and private policies in a field where economic needs are great and where the public is confused by the propaganda of powerful, special-interest groups. Present plans call for completion of the survey late in 1951.

The Admission and Resettlement of Displaced Persons in the United States, by Frank L. Auerbach. This revised handbook fully explains the changes that Congress in June, 1950, made in the Displaced Persons Act of 1948, and brings together in convenient form the most important legal and technical information needed by churches and other agencies concerned with Displaced Persons. Copies may be secured from the Community Council for American Unity, 20 West 40th Street, New York 18, at $1.00 each, or 75 cents each for 5 or more copies.

A Brief Survey of the Major Agencies in the Field of Intercultural Education. This 68-page monograph outlines in detail the purposes and program of eleven major agencies working in public-school settings to promote better relations among children and young people of varied groups. It is available from the American Jewish Committee, 386 Fourth Avenue, New York City, at 40 cents per copy. Also included in the report are summaries of related studies in group work and social research, and suggestions about the ways in which local groups may utilize the many resources of these agencies.

White House Conference Follow-up. The following conference materials are available immediately and can be ordered from the Mid-Century White House Conference office, FSA Building, Washington 25, D. C.

- *A Graphic Presentation of Social and Economic Facts Important in the Lives of Children and Youth.* $1.00.
- *Report of the Advisory Council on Youth Participation, the Advisory Council on Participation of National Organizations, and the Advisory Council on Federal Government Participation.* 75 cents.
- *Children and Youth at the Mid-Century: Report of State and Local Action.* 75 cents.
- An album of six 16-inch transcriptions, 12 sides, 33⅓ r.p.m., comprising a set of records with excerpts from the major addresses delivered at the conference, including those of the president, Oscar R. Ewing, Dr. Benjamin Spock, Leonard W. Mayo, Margaret Mead, and others. These records can be played on any standard play-back machine of the kind usually owned by clubs, schools, and churches. They can also be used for local radio programs. The cost of a set of 6 records is $10.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS—Article on page 10, by Paul S. Deland, is adapted from *The Annals of The American Academy of Political and Social Science*, May, 1950, and is used by permission. Teen-age gang story on page 25 is reprinted from *The New York Times*, November 15, 1950, and is used by permission. Chart on outside back cover, from Mid-Century White House Conference Chart Book.

Sanctuary

The New Generation's Nurture

Invocation:

We come to thee, O Lord, our God, because we know that you are the source of life; because you have the strength we need; you are the fountain of blessing far beyond our most vivid imaginations; you can keep us from falling when we are tempted; you alone control the mighty and subtle forces of the universe; you can save completely when we come in faith through Jesus Christ our Master. Amen.

Hymn: "God of Our Youth, to Whom We Yield."

Confession:

Our youth are shedding their blood on faraway battlefields because we have been too weak to keep peace. Their educations are being interrupted and their homes are being broken because of our failures. Forgive us, O God.

Our prisons and mental hospitals are crowded with young men and young women because we failed to bring them to faith in Christ while they were yet free and alert, and now they are lost. Forgive us, O God.

Our children come and go at home without direction and guidance because we are more interested in personal pleasure and success than in their welfare. When they ask us deep questions of faith, searching for the meaning of their existence, we turn them away because we are too selfish to take time to help them find the answers. Forgive us, O God.

The ruins and rubble and garbage heaps of the world are crawling with the dispossessed of all ages, made destitute and homeless and forced into purely animal existence because we have not been able to be the kind of persons you want us to be. Forgive us, O God.

Scripture: "Train up a child in the way he should go, and even when he is old he will not depart from it."—*Prov. 22:6.*

Meditation:

Our family lived in a city in Asia when it was conquered by a foreign army, and a new government was forced upon the people. Within a few days of occupation the textbooks of the elementary schools and high schools were destroyed and substitutes were developed. Several years later the Communists took control of the same city. The textbooks were changed again in all the schools, right down to kindergarten. In both instances the conquerors recognized the important place of children and youth in their scheme of society. In both cases the conquerors recognized the power of ideas in young minds as necessary in their plan for the world. An indoctrination system is the foundation upon which Communists plan to build a Communist world. They know that their future depends absolutely upon young people growing up with Communist ideology firmly established in their minds and expressed in behavior.

Records of the White House Conference on Children and Youth indicate the tragic failure of Christians in this country to train their children in the basic principles of the Christian faith. A startlingly large proportion of our youth have no other sense of values except those expedient to the gang. Disrespect for people and property, petty and serious theft, drunkenness and crime of all kinds fill our prisons and mental hospitals with inmates tragically young. A large proportion of those left free in society find themselves later in divorce courts and in other troubles.

The solution to those problems is also the only foundation upon which national integrity can be built. "Train up a child in the way he should go, and even when he is old he will not depart from it." Our Christian faith has a sound theology, and we must find ways of teaching that theology effectively to our children. Our theology is definitely related to standards of personal behavior and to patterns of social conduct, and we must help our children to see these relationships. Our theology also demands that personal and social behavior patterns be related to the community and to the entire world and all its problems, and we must help our children to understand the world view of their faith in Christ.

It will be too late and too little if we leave all this to the church school. We must begin at home where our children spend their early years of life. There is no effective substitute for the family group, meeting together daily for prayer, Bible stories, and discussion of Christian responsibilities. The job begins there, and nothing that may be done in later years will ever fully make up for neglect at this point. These family groups need the help of the church school and the materials provided by the church. No family can remain truly Christian without family participation in the Church.

The Church must have more discipline and power in its teaching. It is full of people who do not know what they believe, and even more who have had no intelligent explanation of their beliefs, and who have not seen the relevance of their faith to our common social life. Pressing and complex are the problems that beset our homes and communities. We cannot build the world God wants for his children without vigorous attack upon the sources of evil that degrade and separate us. The Church and we the people who are its members must be unceasing in extending Christ's rule and influence. We must begin where life begins, at home, relating our homes to the world through the fellowship of our faith in Jesus Christ.

Prayer for Help:

Keep us strong and true as we face the crisis of these days together with our sons and daughters. Help us to be as true to them as we want them to be true to You and to us. Help us to give as much as they give, to work as hard as they work, and to struggle as valiantly as they struggle. Amen.

—Prepared by Rev. Archie R. Crouch, University Pastor, Westminster House at the University of California, Berkeley, California.

About Books

Neighbors in Action, by Rachel Davis DuBois. Harper & Brothers. $3.00.

This book is a vivid and graphic report of an experiment in intergroup relations in a congested tension area in New York City. It was carried on by the Parents' Association of Junior High School 165 in co-operation with the Workshop for Industrial Democracy. Rachel Davis DuBois, the workshop's director, developed the project, which included children and adults representing forty-eight different racial, religious, and nationality groups. The book records actual case histories and provides helpful program suggestions that other group leaders would find easy to follow.

Through spontaneous group conversations, games, and sings, people of extremely diverse backgrounds find a common unity around the universal themes of work, play, love, and worship. Here is excellent material to supplement existing study books on the mission theme "Toward a Christian Community."

One participant in the project summed up the reactions of many. "Peace begins here," he remarked, "not with the diplomats."

—*William F. Wefer.*

Tomboy, by Hal Ellson. Charles Scribner's Sons. $2.75.

Like the *Grapes of Wrath,* this story embodies a quantity of sociological documentation under the form of a novel. In *Tomboy* the scene of the social problem shifts from Oklahoma and California to Harlem and Brooklyn. The subjects of study change from the migrant workers roaming the plains to the juvenile gangs roaming the streets. But the disease is there in both, the virus of deep-seated social maladjustment, by which untold lives are sacrificed.

Tomboy is the story of a fifteen-year-old girl who belonged to the gang known as the Harps. Her story isn't pretty. The author skips nothing in his realism. In telling about Tomboy and the girls like her, the author is evidently moved by a great indignation, an indignation that such creatures can exist.

The book is definitely not for the thin-skinned reader. For persons interested in or engaged in group work among underprivileged teen-age youth in our larger cities the book is especially valuable for its data on the acute problem of the rise of dangerous and destructive teen-age gangs.

—*Walton W. Rankin.*

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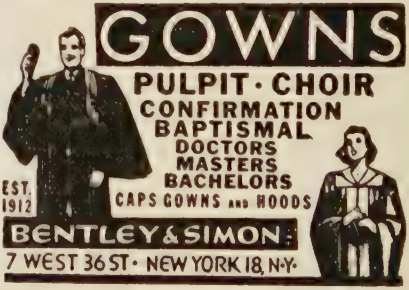
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CAN THE ALCOHOL TRAFFIC BE CONTROLLED?

By **EDWARD B. DUNFORD**, *LL. D., General Counsel, National Temperance League, Inc.*

THE 21st Amendment to the Federal Constitution did more than repeal national prohibition. It completely readjusted the state-national authority over intoxicating liquors. The first section of the amendment restored to the states the right to enact the type of liquor law deemed suited to the needs of the people of each state. The second section declares:

"The transportation or importation of intoxicating liquor into any state for delivery or use therein in violation of the laws thereof is hereby prohibited."

The Supreme Court held that the effect of this section was to place liquors in interstate commerce in a different category from other merchandise. The states may stop at their borders the importation of any liquors brought in for use in violation of their policy, whether that be license, state sale, or prohibition. It cannot do this with regard to other commodities, which are subject to the superior power of Congress to regulate commerce among the states.

This combines within the state plenary power to regulate or prohibit the internal traffic in liquors and the authority to stop transactions across its borders contrary to its law. No longer do the states have to look to Congress for permission to protect themselves from unwanted imports.

Prior to national prohibition there was a twenty-seven-year-long conflict over the control of liquors crossing state lines. The states found themselves handicapped in dealing with liquors brought into their borders from without.

Enforcement Aid

In 1936, Congress enacted a measure entitled "An Act to Enforce the 21st Amendment." This provides a penalty enforceable in the Federal courts against anyone who shall transport liquor into any state in which the sales of intoxicating liquor for beverage purposes, containing more than 4 per cent of alcohol by volume, are prohibited, if the liquor is not accompanied by such permit or license as the state law requires, or if the state prohibits all importation of intoxicating liquors.

Formerly the Federal Government merely collected taxes on liquors, and took slight cognizance of liquor trade practices in interstate commerce. A change resulted from the experience during the preprohibition and the prohibition eras. The present Liquor Tax Administration Act requires that liquor dealers engaged in interstate sales—other than brewers and retailers—shall obtain basic permits from the Federal Alcohol Tax Unit. This is the principle innovation following repeal.

The permit is conditioned upon compliance with the law prohibiting unfair competition and unlawful practice in interstate commerce, prohibition against bulk sales and bottling, compliance with the 21st Amendment and laws relating to the enforcement thereof, and all other Federal laws relating to liquor, including taxes thereon.

These basic permits are subject to suspension or revocation for the violation of the law or regulations, with the right of appropriate review in the courts. This gives to the Government life and death control over distillers, vintners, and wholesalers whose business is conducted in two or more states, and brings under Federal supervision those aspects of the trade which are beyond the control of a single state.

Unfair Competition and Unlawful Practices Prohibited

The act also prohibits certain specific acts in unfair competition and unlawful practices in interstate commerce by producers, wholesalers, and importers. Among these are:

1. Entering into agreements for the products of one dealer to the exclusion of others, if the effect is to hinder sales in interstate commerce.
2. Tied houses, i. e., producers, wholesalers, etc., acquiring or holding any interest in:
    a. Any retail license.
    b. Any real or personal property owned, occupied, or used by a retail licensee.
    c. Furnishing, letting, or selling to any retailer any equipment, fixture, or sign, contrary to regulations promulgated by the Administrator.
    d. Paying or crediting the retailer for any advertising or distribution service.
    e. Guaranteeing any loan or financial obligation of the retailer.
    f. Extending credit to any retailer in excess of the usual and customary period as ascertained and prescribed by the Administrator.
    g. Requiring the retailer to take and dispense a certain quota of their products.
3. Commercial bribery, or the offering or giving of any bonus, premium, or compensation to any officer or employee.
4. Consignment sales, i. e., selling the goods on consignment or condition of sale with the privilege of return.

Federal Supervision of Interstate Advertising

It is also made unlawful to advertise by radio or other means to induce sales of liquor in interstate commerce unless such advertisement is in conformity with regulations of the Administrator designed to:

1. Prevent deception of the consumer with respect to age or manufacturing process.
2. Inform the consumer with respect to the identity and quality of the products advertised and the alcoholic content thereof, except as to beer and wine under 15 per cent.
3. Inform the consumer, with certain exceptions, of the composition of blends, including the percentage of neutral spirits used and the materials from which distilled.
4. Prevent disparagement of a competitor's product, or any obscene, indecent, or misleading statements.
5. Prevent statements inconsistent with the labeling.

There is Federal supervision of labeling too, with the addition of a prohibition against the deception of the consumer by the use of a trade name or a brand that is the name of any individual of public prominence or of any existing private or public organization, or the simulated name of any individual or organization likely to deceive the consumer.

The principal advance made by these specific statutory requirements in the Federal Alcohol Administration Act over power exercised by the Federal Trade Commission before national prohibition lies in the fact that the designated acts are specifically prohibited and are made a crime. Also, under some circumstances they are made the basis for suspension or revocation of the permit authorizing the liquor dealer to engage in business. The authority of the Federal Trade Commission formerly extended only to the entry of a "cease and desist" order, and its jurisdiction was dependent upon ability to show injury to a competitor rather than to the public.

Variation in State Liquor Laws Since Repeal

Following repeal, the states enacted various types of liquor laws for policing the liquor traffic within their borders. These fall into three general categories: 1. License (29); 2. State sale (17); 3. Prohibition (2). Wide differences in the theory of liquor control are embodied in these acts. There is a complete lack of uniformity since the laws undertook to provide a system suitable to the conditions, background, and viewpoint of the people of each state.

One of the major differences is the extent to which the local Government is permitted to participate in the control of the retail sale of liquor. Some states allow the local unit a large measure of authority. Some provide that both state and local unit shall share in the responsibility. In others, the issuing of local licenses is done by a central state authority, with little consultation with the local community.

In thirty-eight states the laws provide for local option—the right of the people in small political units to vote upon such questions as the establishment of state stores, or, in the license states, whether retail licenses shall be issued. In some states, several questions may be voted on, such as ON or OFF sale, what type of liquor may be sold; that is, a separate vote may be taken upon the sale of spirits, and of beer and wine.

Increased State Supervision

Before national prohibition, state liquor laws very generally made the granting of liquor licenses or the establishment of dispensaries a local function. Little attention was paid to the trade practices of liquor dealers in intrastate commerce. Today in almost every state some central authority has been set up to license the brewers, distillers, and wholesalers, and this authority has also been given the power to revoke or suspend licenses.

These state statutes also contain provisions similar to those embodied in the Federal Alcohol Administration Act against trade practices in intrastate commerce deemed inimical to the public interest, as, for example, granting premiums and bonuses to push sales of the product of a particular manufacturer, extending unreasonable credit, and power to regulate advertising. The undoubted purport of these statutes, both state and Federal, is to prevent those practices in the liquor trade which helped to bring the saloon system into disfavor.

Sale of Liquor a Privilege and Not a Right

The Supreme Court has established the legal principle that the manufacture and sale of liquors are not among those inherent rights of citizenship guaranteed by the 14th Amendment to the Constitution. The liquor traffic is subject to the fullest exercise of the policy power, even to complete prohibition, without compensation for losses incurred. The sale of liquor is a privilege and not a right. The privilege can be granted or withheld in conformity with the will of the people of the state.

Liquor Advertising

With respect to liquor advertising, there is still a confusion of function between the state and Federal Governments. The publication of newspapers, radio and television broadcasts, are activities distinct from the liquor business, but their facilities are used by liquor dealers engaged in interstate sales to popularize and encourage consumption and use of alcoholic beverages.

While much of the advertising is of the so-called "brand advertising" variety, nevertheless it represents in its entirety an effort on the part of the liquor trade to carry on a conditioning process to make youth, particularly, feel that to drink is smart and a necessary part of good social usage.

Congress has the power to regulate the use of the facilities of interstate commerce by such media of publicity. Much of this promotional activity is carried on by newspapers and broadcast programs disseminated in local option areas and states where the people have voted against the sale of liquor. This contravenes the spirit and purpose of the 21st Amendment.

The states are handicapped in stopping promotive liquor advertising. They can prevent newspapers and stations located within their borders from accepting such advertising, but cannot stop such advertising from coming into the state from outside. They could deny the right to sell within their borders any brand of liquor, or the product of any manufacturer, which is promotively advertised. While this action would deny the market to sellers of such advertised liquors, it would not protest the states from the advertising itself. This situation requires remedial action by Congress.

Conclusion

The readjustment of Governmental authority over the liquor business, created by the 21st Amendment, offers a new constitutional approach to the subject, the potentialities of which need to be fully explored. The liquor business, being a privileged one that exists by sufferance, merely, is peculiarly susceptible to the public will.

The state has been given the most complete authority that has ever existed under our constitutional system to enact any type of law the people demand, coupled with the greatest measure of authority to enforce such a law. The Federal Government is obligated, therefore, to aid in preventing the use of interstate commerce facilities, over which it has regulatory power, from being used to thwart state policy. If the conditions respecting the enforcement of the liquor laws in the states are not satisfactory, it is up to us as citizens to bring about through democratic processes such changes as may be better suited to meet the public needs.

What the Reviewers Say About *God and the Nations*

. . . "Dr. Poling plants the Cross squarely in the center of our political, social, national, and international affairs. . . . The whole civilization of which we are a part is at stake. . . . This book should be a must for study in every congregation."—*The Rev. Paul Calhoun, First Church, Spokane, Washington.*

AN OPEN LETTER TO THE TEMPERANCE MOVEMENT

By **CLIFFORD EARLE**, *Associate Secretary, Division of Social Education and Action, Presbyterian Board of Christian Education.*

Dear Friends in the Temperance Cause:

The recent merging of two of America's leading temperance organizations heralds a new day for the antiliquor movement.* The temperance groups seem at last to be making a real effort to achieve unity within their own ranks. Only as they are able to unite in a realistic program can they hope to advance their cause.

Equally important is co-operation with the Churches in their programs of alcohol education and action. To have any measure of success the temperance agencies need the full sympathy and support of the Churches.

Programs of Their Own

When the temperance societies were organized in the nineteenth century, their purpose at first was to combat inebriety. They sought to make drinking more temperate. Later they centered their efforts on total abstinence and the elimination of the liquor traffic.

These organizations were children of the Church, but they were never under the control of the Church. In the years before national prohibition, the Churches generally were completely sympathetic with the aims and strategies of the temperance forces. During and following the prohibition period a great many Church leaders—clergy as well as laity—found themselves in disagreement with many of the activities of the temperance groups.

They came to feel that the Churches ought to develop their own programs of alcohol education. While welcoming some of the policies of the temperance societies, Church leaders saw that they could no longer assign complete responsibility for this important task to agencies over which they had little or no control.

In doing their own thinking and planning, the Churches found that they could deal with aspects of the alcohol problem that lay outside the direct concern of most of the temperance groups. In the field of pastoral help for the victims of alcohol the Churches felt that they had a unique contribution to make.

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* The Temperance League of America (formerly the Anti-Saloon League of America, founded in 1895), and the National Temperance Movement (founded in 1945), were merged in November, 1950. The new organization is the National Temperance League with headquarters in Washington and Chicago. Prominent also is the National Woman's Christian Temperance Union, founded in 1873, with headquarters in Evanston, Illinois.

The initiative of the Churches in setting up their own antialcohol programs is a fact that must be accepted by the temperance groups and their leaders. The following suggestions are made in the hope that the Churches will find it possible to co-ordinate their efforts with those of the major temperance organizations.

Reasonable Goals

First, let the independent groups working for temperance in America clarify and declare their goals.

If the elimination of the liquor traffic through prohibition is your single objective, please let the Churches know.

If your purpose is to bring about a decrease in the amount of drinking in America, by whatever means, the Churches want to be told.

If you are concerned about the moral and social havoc caused by drinking and are seeking realistic remedies, please say so.

These three goals are not mutually exclusive, but they do represent degrees of importance. The second is more comprehensive than the first, and the third includes more than the second. Persuading people to be abstinent is one way of lessening the damage done by alcohol, and making the sale of alcoholic beverages illegal is one way of diminishing drinking.

The public mind identifies the temperance cause completely with prohibition. This has come about largely through "wet" propaganda. It is also the result, in part, of the failure of some temperance leaders to recognize partial aspects of the alcohol problem, and partial remedies.

These leaders appear to confuse means and ends. They are so engrossed with "fighting the liquor crowd" that they seem to have forgotten their original and primary concern—the fellow who gets into trouble through drinking.

When temperance leaders are preoccupied with a single total remedy, such as prohibition, they are tempted to regard anyone who is interested in a partial aspect of the problem, such as helping the victims of alcohol or introducing alcohol courses in public-school curriculums, as somehow being a traitor to the temperance cause, or at least a compromiser. The line is drawn in such a way as to put on the side of the problem a lot of people who do not belong there.

Nothing would delight the Churches more than to know that the temperance societies recognize as the real focus of their concern the people who are hurt by alcohol, and that they encourage every remedy that holds promise of alleviating any part of the problem. Here is a broad basis of co-operation among groups working in various ways to reduce the amount of damage done by drinking.

There must be no compromise of conviction about the ultimate solution of the liquor question. But in areas of common concern there can be united action.

Your Own Field

Secondly, let the temperance organizations concentrate on their own subject and avoid the temptation of getting into other fields.

In most Churches, the antialcohol program is assigned to social action departments where it is one of several concerns. When temperance bodies speak or act in fields other than their own they often oppose positions taken by the Churches in their official pronouncements and programs. This is embarrassing to the Churches, and makes co-operation well-nigh impossible.

In one state, for example, a temperance society supported an effort to block public housing in complete contradiction to positions taken by several Church bodies. In another state temperance leaders permitted themselves to be used by groups opposing civil rights legislation in a way that was intolerable to many Churches. National temperance organizations, too, are frequently tempted to take sides on public questions not remotely connected with the alcohol problem.

In the matter of endorsing candidates for public office, temperance societies are especially vulnerable. Many of the "approved candidates" support positions taken by Churches and temperance groups alike with regard to alcohol, but on other questions are decidedly off the beam—and do not deserve the support of the Churches. This is a delicate matter. We all want to know what the candidates propose to do about the alcohol problem. At the same time, it is unwise for an organization to endorse a man for public office on the strength of his reply to a questionnaire dealing with only one issue.

Many churchmen are troubled by the determined way some temperance leaders make judgments about questions clearly outside their field of expertness. For example, the use of wine by the early Christians is a matter to be decided, not by wish and sentiment, but by sound historical research and Biblical exegesis, and among the scholars there is now virtually no disagreement. Similarly, such questions as the direct effects of alcohol upon the human body and the real nature of alcohol addiction are not for laymen to debate but for specialists to determine.

Approaching the Churches

Thirdly, let the temperance organizations and their leaders use care and good sense in approaching the Churches for support and co-operation.

Sometimes the approaches used by the temperance groups have stood in the way of good relations. For example, a temperance representative asked for the privilege of presenting his work to an annual state-wide Church meeting. He was given ten minutes in a crowded docket at the time of the report of the social action committee. His presentation, however, consumed more than half an hour, and the committee was unable to present important proposals dealing with temperance education in the Churches of the state. This has happened again and again, in state after state, with the result that church-sponsored programs of alcohol education have been repeatedly delayed and discouraged.

Rather than seeking time in the crowded agenda of a synod or conference meeting, let the temperance representative arrange to meet with the committee to which has been assigned responsibility for alcohol education.

In one large state, a leading temperance group includes in the membership of its board of trustees the chairmen of social education and action committees of all the presbyteries. This was accomplished by an action of the synod whereby the denominational representatives on the league's board became these leaders who are responsible for temperance activity in their respective presbyteries.

The ways are many by which cooperation can be achieved. What is important is that temperance groups recognize the initiative of the Churches in antialcohol activity, and order their approaches accordingly.

Concern for Alcoholics

Finally, let the temperance organizations and their leaders encourage the Churches in their concern for the victims of alcohol.

The Churches have always had a special talent for helping people who cannot help themselves. Ministering to those who have been caught in the trap of alcohol addiction is a service which every local church should be eager and ready to render. As the incidence of alcoholism rises, and increasing numbers of people are affected, the Churches are becoming more and more concerned. Here is a human need for which they feel a peculiar responsibility.

Yet many temperance leaders seemingly believe that to show concern for the victims of alcohol is a denial of their mission to remove alcohol completely from society. They somehow have the notion that to recognize alcoholism as a disorder calling for treatment rather than scolding and punishment is to condone the use of alcoholic beverages. So the temperance groups hesitate and temporize in expressing themselves about this aspect of the alcohol problem.

Indeed, not infrequently one hears representatives of temperance organizations say, concerning alcoholics and their needs, "Let the liquor traffic clean up its own mess!" Here truly is a betrayal of decency and humanity. With that attitude the Churches can have no patience.

Compassion requires that Christians do what they can to help the victims of alcoholism. Realism requires that the condition be treated as a disorder, for that is what it is, whatever its origin may be.

The temperance cause would add vastly to its stature and status if its leaders would show some real interest in the problem of alcoholism, per se, and would at least try to understand the purpose of those who seek its remedy. Especially should they encourage the Churches in this ministry of compassion.

Common Cause

These suggestions are presented in the faith that the temperance forces and the Churches of the land can aid and support one another in a new advance upon the alcohol problem.

There is urgent need for a united front. The goal is clear—a sober and righteous America.

A Warning

Churches are warned against co-operation with an organization called the Temperance and Tolerance Association, founded by Mrs. Ida M. Thurber of Lincoln, Nebraska.

Support for the Association seems to come from members of the liquor trade who have been urged to give it their backing.

The officers of the Nebraska Beer Retailers' Association write to the trade as follows:

"The Temperance and Tolerance Association of America . . . is dedicated to the promotion of true temperance and moderation in the use of alcoholic beverages. . . . It has the active endorsement of all phases of the brewing industry."

The Wisconsin *Beverage News* says: "The T. and T. Association should be welcomed and supported by everyone in the alcoholic beverage industry. Membership in the T. and T. Association is only one dollar."

The Association is circulating a 52-minute sound film titled *The Truth Shall Make You Free*, which is the most blatant and sententious piece of wet propaganda this reporter has ever seen. In a masking of religious and moral idealism, the film makes highly selective use of sensational material to effect a complete distortion of the truth about the temperance movement in America.

And here is the payoff. In many instances the Association offers to pay local churches for using the film. Please don't fall into the trap!

WORLD STRATEGY FOR CHRISTIANS

By **DR. O. FREDERICK NOLDE,** ***Dean, Lutheran Theological Seminary; Director, Commission of the Churches on International Affairs.***

Notes from an address at a Presbyterian Conference on Church Strategy in the present crisis.

THE world scene can be described in a variety of ways, but three characteristics dominate and must be reckoned with in our Christian strategy.

The first is the reality of the economic and social revolution, in part an evolution, in the interests of economic and social justice. This began long before the First World War and has had many manifestations in different parts of the world. It has evidenced itself in Western Europe in the effort to find new political and economic patterns; in Eastern Europe, in the rise of Communism to care for man's needs; in the Far East, in the desire for a more equitable share of this world's goods, equality of personal and political status and release from economic and social oppression. In the upsurge for political independence these demands for freedom are premised on rightful foundations and they cannot be ignored.

A second characteristic is the competition of two powerful economic systems to meet these discerned and keenly felt needs. Two major systems with many different adaptations are obviously competing for supremacy: The one is the system of Communism, with the power accompaniment of the Soviet Government. The other, more difficult to define, is in part capitalistic, with the power center in the United States, but with a variety of adaptations in the socialist movements, the labor governments of Western Europe and the Scandinavian countries. The fact of this competition in itself should be no cause for disturbance, for as the world progressively shrinks, various systems—be they cultural, economic, or religious—should be able to compete with each other peacefully. And there was hope at the close of the Second World War that this kind of peaceful competition could be achieved for our world society for an indefinite period.

Unhappily, that anticipated end has not been achieved. Therefore we now have the third characteristic—the threat or the use of armed force in the effort to expand an area of influence. Of course there are those who believe that Korea does not really demonstrate that threat or use of armed force by Soviet Russia itself. Nevertheless, the whole Western world is orienting its life on the assumption that competition cannot assuredly be peaceful and that, therefore, preventives must be erected in the form of military preparations to discourage aggressive action—or, if aggressive action occurs, to oppose it. Thus the world is more vividly divided into two armed camps.

In approaching this situation we can take any one of a variety of points of view. We can approach this international crisis essentially from the standpoint of a Christian diagnosis and with those distinctively Christian insights which can come to grips with the world's evils. There is unquestioned need for this approach. There is unquestioned need for stimulating study and Christian analysis of our world plight in terms of individual and—if you will—group sin, and the Christian message whereby those root difficulties can be counteracted.

While recognizing this imperative need, I question whether the time span available to us does not require something more of Christians in this hour. Must we not inquire whether there are certain directives which flow from our Christian faith to help those who are empowered to make the political decisions today?

We face very critical situations in the armaments race, in the upsurge for social and economic justice, and the possibility of a third world war. What can we, therefore, draw from the deep resources of the Christian faith that can curb the evils and dissentions that would precipitate global conflict?

If we are to be realistic, we must address ourselves in the first instance to ourselves as Christians and as citizens in the United States. We must address ourselves primarily to our own Government, and secondarily to Governments that are allied with us; and we must do all that is within our power to do.

In political terms that reflect a Christian outlook upon the present international crisis we have an obligation to use our spiritual and material resources to impose such restraints upon Soviet Russia as will discourage or prevent the extension of Communist influence by means of force. These are mainly the terms in which our political leaders are thinking. But there is a second obligation upon the Government in the United States, namely, to use our spiritual and material resources to hold the world together. And that embraces the total family of mankind, including Soviet Russia and countries allied with Soviet Russia.

Now, these two obligations, which I believe reflect an inference from Christian truth, obviously conflict with each other. But we need continuously to ask those who form our foreign policy to keep the two as nearly in balance as possible, so that as our policy makers impose restraints upon Communist Russia, they do so in such a way that we make the highest possible contribution to holding the world together. It may seem like an impossible task, but let me illustrate.

I personally believe that armaments are needed. But I am equally convinced that as our country together with the Atlantic Pact and other nations moves forward with armament programs, we increasingly constitute a threat to the peace, and run the risk of further dividing the world. What, therefore, can be done now to get the United States to accept certain international checks and restraints so that as it increases its military strength it does at least everything within its power to hold the world together? Here are five possible avenues of armaments strategy that we can now follow and that would in fuller form be reasonably required of all nations in a friendly world.

I

THE United States, and other Atlantic Pact nations, should as promptly as possible—but no later than the next session of the General Assembly—make a general report to the United Nations of the military preparations under way and the reasons why they consider them necessary. Obviously, only those who have full military competence can tell the extent of detail to which such a report should go. But if we believe in international action, we should set an example for all nations by going as far as the international situation now permits.

II

THE United States should invite the use of United Nations Peace Observation Commissions, particularly where its military forces operate on foreign territory. Soviet Russia and the Western powers were in agreement in the debate on this Peace Observation Commission which has now been established. Although their agreement may not continue to the present, it would be entirely in order to invite Soviet Russia, together with the United States, to set up Peace Observation Commissions at every potential danger spot throughout the world. The proposal would probably not be accepted. In that event I believe that the United States should invert the purpose of the Peace Observation Commission and say that even though this was intended to discourage aggression, we who are not aggressively minded invite neutral observation of our activities.

III

THE United States must continue to recognize the authority of the United Nations to determine what measures shall be taken to oppose aggression. As our military strength increases, we may be tempted to claim that apparent weakness of the United Nations justifies unilateral or multilateral action. Alarming indications of that point of view appeared when the United Nations forces were suffering military reverses in Korea. Such action is permitted by the charter until the United Nations takes necessary measures to maintain international peace and security. We shall serve the world community best, not by unilateral action, but by strengthening the United Nations to take prompt and effective collective measures.

IV

As we grow in military strength, we must demonstrate increasing willingness to negotiate. Too frequently, negotiation follows a period of military failure, and there is greater reluctance to negotiate when we feel we have the upper hand. That in a sense is, of course, contrary to sound strategy, because negotiation with Soviet Russia has proved most successful in the past (example of Berlin Blockade), normally when a *de facto* victory had already been achieved by the demonstration of sufficient strength. But it seems that every move by the United States to negotiate needs to be supported particularly because there are those in public and private life who stigmatize as appeasement every legitimate compromise that is an inevitable part of negotiation.

V

We must now and continually press for the international control and regulation of national armaments. It may be that this mad armaments race will demonstrate to men the futility of what they are doing and result in agreement that the only solution is reduction under international jurisdiction. But there is no use fooling ourselves. We are planning to send four or five more divisions into Germany. Recent newspapers report that Russia has already put more divisions in East Germany and in the satellite countries surrounding East Germany. We know that our Government is committed to seeking the reduction of national armaments under international control. But the stronger we get, the greater the temptation will be to get our own way, or our friends' way.

If we as Christians say we reluctantly recognize the present necessity for increased military strength, and at the same time believe that the United States must voluntarily accept certain international restraints as it goes forward in building military strength, then we must indicate the ways in which we believe this can be done.

In this connection we must also recognize the upsurge for economic and social justice. Clearly, the fantastic expenditures for military appropriations carry certain threats to domestic economy—more to the countries of Western Europe than to the United States. And when standards of living are lowered, Communism becomes attractive to the masses who do not reckon with ultimate costs. So from the standpoint of domestic life, we must preserve a sound economy. We must also preserve an economy that would permit the military preparations to continue for a long period of time. And if Russia should start a war, we can only seek to defend ourselves. It is, on the other hand, entirely possible that Russia will conciliate as the Western powers grow stronger.

We shall have a domestic economy primarily geared to military preparations. Of necessity we must devise plans that will permit conversion in due course to a peace economy without the upheaval of war. That has never happened before. In the history of the United States or any other capitalistic country, upheavals have had as partial motivation the need to readjust economy—and it is a terrifying thought!

Over and beyond domestic economy, we must think of economic justice for countries throughout the world. The Marshall Plan has demonstrated itself to be an effective bulwark against Communism during its operation. Now by our armaments program we face the danger of draining the vigor of the reconstructive process and defeating the very ends that we seek. There are, of course, certain hopeful signs—the partial extension of E. C. A., and the Point Four Program of the United States and co-operation with the United Nations technical assistance program in underdeveloped areas. There is some encouraging evidence that the United States will be willing to give assistance to countries in their distress, as in the case of India. When we compare the total of our appropriation for economic and technical assistance with the fantastic sums for defense, certainly we cannot claim that any balance has been achieved. To every possible extent, assistance programs should be oriented within the framework of the United Nations.

Further, there is the problem of human rights and social justice. Some of us had a most distressing experience the other night when a group of American organizations met and said: "We have given very little attention to the Covenant of Human Rights. We have been so concerned—almost obsessed—by the Korean situation. And yet here is the forthcoming meeting of the United Nations Commission on Human Rights, where further drafting will be done on the Covenant. And it is highly important that the United States take a position of leadership there." We lost some ground at the recent meeting of the Assembly. Our domestic observance of human rights, in addition to long-standing problems, must reckon with the threat of further con-

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An App

"THE MINNEAPOLIS GOPHERS HAVE A PROBLEM"

You doubtless have not heard of the Minneapolis Gophers—that is, the Phyllis Wheatley Gophers. In a "Letter to the Editor" of the Minneapolis *Star*, they wrote: "Our basketball team has a problem. . . . Two of our members have received their [draft] notices and the others are just waiting. . . . There must be an alternative to war, and we don't feel that our Government is doing everything it can to find it. Just when we should be looking toward building our futures, we are told to get in the Army and fight. . . . We would much rather shoot baskets than bullets."

The reproach in these plain words recalls the judgment in the face of a young soldier somewhere in Korea. The newsreel showed the G.I. being decorated for distinguished service. His face was unforgettable. It was utterly expressionless—his eyes lifeless and fixed as though on some scene, now beyond his sight, where earth and hell once met for him. Whatever the violence that had drained both joy and fear from his face, it could not conceal his youth. The Gophers are right—he should have been shooting baskets, not guns, playing for his school amid the din of a cheering gym, his "decoration" a coveted school letter.

Everyone who believes with the Gophers that our Government is not doing everything it can to find an alternative to war may join them in telling the Government so. And since we are part of that Government, let's find the "alternatives" for our sons. All of us are involved in the failure of diplomacy that results in war and makes the Gophers' problem.

MILITARY POSTURE OR CIVILIAN POSTURE?

A plea for a "military posture" is now urgently made by General Marshall as the "practical solution to both our immediate and our long-range problems." Let us agree that an emergency requires emergency measures, which the present Selective Service Act is designed to meet. But the new bill meets the crisis by making an emergency act (conscription) permanent. General Marshall's testimony makes it clear that this bill means permanent peacetime conscription: "It will set us on a course for the first time that will give us a reasonable prospect of an enduring posture of military strength." However, 150 years of freedom attests strongly to our fathers'

to Faith

sound judgment in rejecting peacetime conscription. It is sheer speculation to argue that America, with her youth conscripted, would have suffered fewer casualties in war. It is at least as probable that America, drilled and heavily armed, would have been involved in more wars and been an entirely different nation from the country celebrated as the land of the free. We can have a "military posture," but what of the *civilian posture* so essential to free men? *Your Representatives begin draft debate April 3. All citizens should, parents certainly will, write their Congressmen now.*

On the domestic scene, the plight of our Church-related colleges is one illustration of the serious threat of the arms program to all our free institutions. These lines are written at Macalester College, one of forty-four Presbyterian colleges that for generations have been springs of Christian faith and life for young America. President Charles Turck does not know just how deeply hurt Macalester will be if the present draft bill is passed, but he anticipates a decline in enrollment of 300 students by next fall and a loss in tuition of $120,000. Multiply this by our forty-four colleges to appreciate the disaster threatening our Church schools. Though the financial loss may be less in smaller colleges, the injury will be greater; and for some the blow will be mortal unless help comes from great gifts or by relief from the provisions of the Universal Military Service and Training bill.

On the foreign scene, the proposed military alliance with Franco Spain exposes the moral decay at the heart of the "realists" trust in military might. Freedom-loving people everywhere—particularly those languishing in dungeons in Spain—must feel hope die on hearing the report that the United States, earth's best hope of freedom, is contemplating such an alliance. We must never give people reason to fear that America will be the accomplice of their oppressors.

The General Assembly declared we should "form no military alliance with . . . the present regime of Spain. . . . Such action would betray our devotion to civil liberty and freedom of worship, and would ally us with the establishment of Fascist bondage upon the freedom-loving people of Spain." The President, the Secretary of State, and your Congressmen should hear "the voice of America"—your voice—on this issue. The United States is miscast as an ally of France. The "military posture" poses a serious threat to the foundation of democracy both at home and abroad.

—*Paul Newton Poling.*

WORLD STRATEGY

(Continued from page 15)

centration of power in a period of emergency. Human rights are not merely weapons to counteract the spread of Communism. Movements for social and economic justice are right in themselves, and because of their inherent rightness they can oppose totalitarian domination.

And very briefly we must consider the third area—personal attitudes and human relationships. All of us are deeply concerned about the fear and hysteria that have engulfed our country. Patience, deliberation, study are needed as never before.

Even more disturbing than the hysteria is the trend in American thinking which now makes the Russian Government and the Russian people one. And we don't distinguish between the vast populations in China with whom we have traditional friendship and with whom we ought to be friends today, and the forces by which they are momentarily controlled. Some of our Government officials have stressed our willingness to enter into closer relations, and have emphasized our friendship with the Russian and the Chinese people. Although we may not be able to establish the personal contacts that we desire, it is highly important that our attitudes shall be so formed that the moment the opportunity for personal contact appears our minds and emotions will be ready.

I have not couched these statements in theological terms. But I believe the ideas that I have briefly explored grow out of the Christian faith and are indeed relevant to the needs of today. Nothing is more important than awakening repentance and faith in Jesus Christ and a reconciled relationship to God the Father. That is where our emphasis must be, and that is where our preaching and our teaching must be centered. Drawing upon these resources, are we as Christians ready to infuse our leaders and our people with insights that are deeply rooted in the gospel?

The United Nations Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide—the deliberate mass extinction of human groups—has been ratified or acceded to by over 20 countries, whose example the United States should speedily follow.

The Convention will give legal effect to important principles of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, for it can be linked, not to one, but to many of the Declaration's articles—such articles, for example, as the one which enjoins men to act toward one another in a spirit of brotherhood, that which provides for equality of treatment for all peoples, that which guarantees for all men the right to life, liberty, and security of person, that which prohibits torture, cruel or inhuman treatment. It fits well into the UN's great task of ensuring basic human rights and freedoms to every human being of establishing a world rule of law.

DR. BOB *By BILL.*

Dr. Bob, co-founder of Alcoholics Anonymous, died in Akron, Ohio, on November 16, 1950. The following tribute was written by Bill, the other member of the famous partnership that brought AA into being. Here are told for the first time some of the incidents and facts about the beginning of the movement that has brought new life to more than 100,000 sufferers of alcoholism. The original article from which these excerpts are taken appeared in the January, 1951, issue of A. A. Grapevine, *the official publication of Alcoholics Anonymous.*

IT WAS A SATURDAY in May, 1935. An ill-starred business venture had brought me to Akron where it immediately collapsed, leaving me in a precarious state of sobriety. That afternoon I paced the lobby of Akron's Mayflower Hotel. As I peered at the gathering crowd in the bar, I became desperately frightened of a slip. It was the first severe temptation since my New York friend had laid before my what were to become the basic principles of AA, in November, 1934. For the next six months I had felt utterly secure in my sobriety. But now there was no security; I felt alone, helpless.

In the months before I had worked hard with other alcoholics. Or, rather, I had preached at them in a somewhat cocksure fashion. In my false assurance I felt I couldn't fall. But this time it was different. Something had to be done at once.

Glancing at a church directory at the far end of the lobby, I selected the name of a clergyman at random. Over the phone I told him of my need to work with another alcoholic. Though I'd had no previous success with any of them I suddenly realized how such work had kept me free from desire. The clergyman gave me a list of ten names. Some of these people, he was sure, would refer me to a case in need of help. Almost running to my room, I seized the phone. But my enthusiasm soon ebbed. Not a person in the first nine called could, or would, suggest anything to meet my urgency.

One uncalled name still stood at the end of my list—Henrietta S. Somehow I couldn't muster courage to lift the phone. But after one more look into the bar downstairs something said to me, "You'd better." A warm Southern voice floated over the wire. Declaring herself no alcoholic, Henrietta nonetheless insisted that she understood. Would I come to her home at once?

Because she had been enabled to face and transcend other calamities, she certainly did understand mine. She was to become a vital link to those fantastic events which were presently to gather around the birth and development of our AA society.

Straightway she pictured the plight of Dr. Bob and Anne. Suiting action to her word, she called their house. As Anne answered, Henrietta described me as a sobered alcoholic from New York who, she felt sure, could help Bob. The good doctor had seemingly exhausted all medical and spiritual remedies for his condition. Then Anne replied: "What you say, Henrietta, is terribly interesting. But I am afraid we can't do anything now. Being Mother's Day, my dear boy has just brought in a fine potted plant. The pot is on the table, but Bob is on the floor. Could we try to make it tomorrow?" Henrietta instantly issued a dinner invitation for the following day.

At five o'clock next afternoon, Anne and Dr. Bob stood at Henrietta's door. She discreetly whisked Bob and me off to the library. His words were: "Mighty glad to meet you, Bill. But it happens I can't stay long; five or ten minutes at the outside." I laughed and observed, "Guess you're pretty thirsty, aren't you?" His rejoinder was, "Well, maybe you do understand this drinking business after all." So began a talk which lasted hours.

How different my attitude was this time. My fright of getting drunk had evoked a much more becoming humility. After telling Dr. Bob my story, I explained how truly I needed him. Would he allow me to help him, I might remain sober myself. Practical steps had better be taken. Anne bade me come and live at their menage for a while. There I might keep an eye on Dr. Bob. And he on me. Perhaps we could do together what we couldn't do separately.

For the next three months I lived with these two wonderful people. I shall always believe they gave me more than I ever brought them. Each morning there was devotion. After the long silence Anne would read out of the Good Book. James was our favorite. Reading him from her chair in the corner, she would softly conclude, "Faith without works is dead."

But Bob's travail with alcohol was not quite over. That Atlantic City Medical Convention had to be attended. Anxiously waiting, Anne and I heard nothing for five days. Finally his office nurse and her husband found him early one morning at the Akron railroad station in some confusion and disarray—which puts it mildly. A horrible dilemma developed. Dr. Bob had to perform a critical surgical operation just three days hence.

He and I were placed in twin beds. A typical tapering down process was inaugurated. Not much sleep for anybody, but he co-operated. At four o'clock on the morning of the operation he turned, looked at me, and said, "I am going through with this." I inquired, "You mean you are going through with the operation?" He replied: "I have placed both operation and myself in God's hands. I'm going to do what it takes to get sober and stay that way."

Our first prospect appeared—a neighboring parson sent him over. Because the newcomer faced eviction, Anne took in his whole family, wife and two children. The new one was a puzzler. When drinking, he'd go clean out of his mind. One afternoon Anne sat at her kitchen table, calmly regarding him as he fingered a carving knife. Under her steady gaze, his hand dropped. But he did not sober then. His wife despairingly betook herself to her own parents and he disappeared. But he did reappear fifteen years later for Dr. Bob's last rites. There we saw him, soundly and happily sober in AA. Back in 1935 we weren't so accustomed to miracles as we are today—we had given him up.

One day Dr. Bob said to me, "Don't you think we'd better scare up some more drunks to work on?" He phoned the nurse in charge of admissions at Akron City Hospital and told her how he and another drunk from New York had a cure for alcoholism. I saw the old boy blush and look disconcerted. The nurse had commented, "Well, doctor, you'd better give that cure a good workout on yourself."

Nevertheless the admitting nurse produced a customer. A dandy, she said he was. A prominent Akron lawyer, he had lost about everything. He'd been in City Hospital six times in four months. He'd arrived at that very moment; had just knocked down a nurse. "Will that one do you?" she inquired. Said Dr. Bob: "Put him in a private room. We'll be down when he's better."

Soon Dr. Bob and I saw a sight which tens of thousands of us have since beheld, a man who does not yet know he can get well. We explained the nature of his malady and told him our own stories of drinking and recovery. But the sick one shook his head. "Guess you've been through the mill, boys, but you never were half as bad off as I am. For me it's too late. I've still faith in God, but I guess he hasn't got any in me. Alcohol has me; it's no use."

As we entered his room for our second visit a woman sitting at the foot of his bed was saying: "What has happened to you? You seem so different. I feel so relieved." The new man turned to us. "Here they are," he cried. "They understand. After they left yesterday I couldn't get what they told me out of my mind. I laid awake all night. If they could find release, so might I. I became willing to get honest with myself, to square my wrongdoing, to help other alcoholics." Whereupon AA number three arose from his bed, never to drink again.

We three worked with scores of others. Failure was our daily companion. But when I left Akron in September, 1935, two or three more sufferers had apparently linked themselves to our team for good.

The next two years marked the "flying blind" period of our venture. With the fine instinct of a good physician, Dr. Bob continued to treat medically and indoctrinate every new case, first at Akron City Hospital, then for the dozen years since at famed St. Thomas where thousands passed under his watchful eye and sure AA touch.

Meanwhile a small group had taken shape in New York. The Akron meeting began to have a few Cleveland visitors. At this juncture I spent a week visiting Dr. Bob. We commenced to count noses. Out of hundreds of alcoholics, how many had stuck? How many were sober? And for how long? In that fall of 1937 Bob and I counted forty cases who had significant dry time—maybe sixty years for the whole lot of them! Our eyes glistened.

The new realization faced us with a great problem, a momentous decision. It had taken nearly three years to effect forty recoveries. The United States alone probably had a million alcoholics. How we finally came up with the book *Alcoholics Anonymous* is a story by itself.

How much we may rejoice that Anne and Dr. Bob both lived to see the lamp lighted at Akron carried into every corner of the earth; that they doubtless realized millions might someday pass under the ever-widening arch whose keystone they so gallantly helped to carve.

General Assembly's Reply to Sea Critics

When the "Report of the Committee of Seven" was adopted by General Assembly in May, 1950, the Division of Social Education and Action had a clear vote of confidence from the Church. The investigation which the General Assembly instructed the Committee to make of certain criticisms of the Division and its program and ways of work had many helpful and constructive results.

The Committee's findings and recommendations constitute important and clarifying directives for the Division and its relationships with synod, presbytery, and local church Committees of Social Education and Action and relevant community organizations and agencies of government. One recommendation deals with Social Progress and its responsibility "to interpret Christian points of view not adequately developed by the secular press." The report also points up the educational purposes of Social Progress in stimulating full discussion of controversial issues and diligent search for facts.

The report is now available in an attractive eight-page pamphlet—a much more readable form, we believe, than the pages on which it appears in the *Minutes of the General Assembly*. Copies are free and ought to be in the reference files of every SEA leader. Order your copy from your nearest Presbyterian Distribution Service.

CHRISTIAN *Action*

ALCOHOL STUDIES AT YALE

Yale University has announced that the ninth annual session of its famous Summer School of Alcohol Studies will be held in New Haven from July 7 through August 3, 1951.

The School presents a broad base for a better understanding of the problems related to the use of alcoholic beverages. The curriculum of 62 lectures and 15 hours of seminars comprises four phases: first, orientation, with emphasis on scientific method as applied to problems of alcohol; second, physiology, psychology and cultural sociology in relation to alcoholic beverages; third, the major problem areas; fourth, description and analysis of various responses to the problems.

The School follows neither a "wet" nor a "dry" line. All approaches and points of view are fairly represented in the curriculum. The leaders believe that a working knowledge of various levels of research and experience is essential to a clear understanding of the problems related to drinking. Whether the concern is medical research, traffic enforcement, religious counseling, high school teaching, or personnel relations in industry, there will be unwise action unless a broad perspective is maintained. Indeed, the absence of these essentials has had much to do with the ineffective solutions attempted in the past.

The School proposes to present the necessary broad framework and to allow special concentration in fields of particular responsibility. The diverse areas of interest, residence, experience, and personal background of the student body make interstudent contacts challenging and worth-while.

In the summers since 1943, when the School was inaugurated, students have come from 47 states and the District of Columbia, from 9 provinces of Canada, and from 9 other countries. They have represented the following groups: Alcoholics Anonymous, 104; beverage control commissions, 9; alcoholic beverage industries, 63; clergy, 336; correction officers, 49; educators, 207; nurses, 16; physicians, 42; psychologists, 14; public-health officers, 10; rehabilitation centers, 33; Salvation Army, 35; social workers, 55; temperance organizations, 100; others, 37; total, 1,168.

The Summer School is one phase of Yale's plan of alcohol studies. The other phases feature research, publications, and clinics for alcoholics. The School is related to these programs only in that it includes them among its resources.

Entrance to the Summer School is limited to those who are actually dealing with one or another of the problems related to the use of alcoholic beverages. Several Presbyterian ministers are accepted every year. For information, write to the Division of Social Education and Action, 830 Witherspoon Building, Philadelphia 7, Pa.

DRAMA DEALS WITH FAMILY RELATIONSHIPS

"Scattered Showers," "Fresh, Variable Winds," and "High Pressure Area" are not weather reports but the intriguing titles of a series of character sketches published by the National Committee for Mental Hygiene. Psychiatrists, psychologists, social workers, educators, worked with dramatists, producers, directors, and actors, to develop these dramatic presentations of basic adult-child problems faced by all of us. The committee and the author, Nora Stirling, obviously brought to the writing of the sketches a deep understanding and knowledge of people and the problems that arise in their interrelationships.

The titles were chosen "to indicate that every family and home has an 'emotional climate,' created by the feelings and emotional reactions that husband and wife, parents and children, brothers and sisters are continually expressing, directly or indirectly, in their interpersonal relations. As the climate of any region is exhibited in the changing weather, so the emotional climate of the family is expressed in 'showers,' in changing winds of feelings, and in high or low emotional pressure."

When the plays were presented at the Midcentury White House Conference by members of the American Theater Wing of New York, they stirred considerable comment, yet one of the thrilling things about the plays is that any amateur group could produce them effectively and with a great deal of fun and pleasure for both the participants and the audience.

Each play deals with the problems of one particular age: *Scattered Showers* presents preschool relationships; *Fresh, Variable Winds* emphasizes school-age difficulties; *High Pressure Area* portrays adolescents' adjustments. Every line counts, and every situation is true to life. These plays have good dramatics value, and in a day when all religious drama has not been up to the highest standards they point the way to what the Church could do in this field.

Each is brief, taking from twenty to forty minutes to present, and should be used as a discussion starter. Each is entertaining to watch and to hear. However, the purpose is not to provide entertainment, but to start group discussion of the problems presented. The plays should not be used unless the audience has a chance to react to them through discussion.

An excellent discussion guide, prepared by Lawrence K. Frank, is available with the three scripts. It gives group leaders very basic helps on discussion methods which all of us should keep in mind as we work with groups to develop participation and suggests discussion leads for each sketch. The guide also gives the discussion leader many insights about the problems and "parental perplexities" as they are dealt with in each play.

A fourth play, *The Ins and Outs,* deals with certain adolescent relationships which are often of crucial importance for individual personality development. It is written for a teen-ager cast and points up some very real and ever-present problems in a way that is tremendously appealing to young people. An excellent discussion guide is supplied for an *adult* leader, and the play is so written that audience response could be guaranteed no matter how reticent the group!

To make these sketches widely useful to groups of parents and others who work with children and young people the plays have been planned with practically no production problems. No scenery is called for. Props are simple and easily secured in any church or club room. A stage manager "sets the scene" verbally, as in Chinese drama. Rehearsals are necessary, for the actors must have insight into the parts they are interpreting. However, if a group had only limited time for preparation, any of the sketches could be effectively produced as a play reading with the actors using scripts and the stage manager interpreting any necessary action without the actors' moving about the stage. This technique would not allow for so forceful a presentation of these excellent sketches, but it is a method that can be used effectively in limited situations.

These four plays present exciting possibilities in group dynamics and challenge us as well to develop more *creative relationships* as each one of us accepts fully our Christian responsibility to ourselves and to *all* others. While they should prove particularly helpful to parents groups, any adult or youth group would benefit greatly by the intelligent use of any or all of these plays. Copies of the scripts and discussion guides are available through the National Committee for Mental Hygiene, 1790 Broadway, New York 19.

—*Margaret E. M. Barnes.*

CITIZENSHIP AND LEGISLATION

House Battles Peacetime Conscription

A permanent program of universal military service and training—including authority to draft eighteen-year-olds—has been approved by the Senate. The bill extends the period of service for present and future draftees to twenty-six months and prohibits any draftee or recruit from being sent into combat without at least four months' training.

As we go to press, hearings on the bill have been completed in the House, and the bill goes to the House for action on April 3. Morale is high in the Army's high command as it enters this last phase of the campaign fresh from the Senate victory. Defense Department officials are urging a short blitzkrieg (probably only three days) debate.

Hottest debate will be over these four aspects of the bill:

(1) The inclusion of the provision for permanent peacetime conscription in the Selective Service bill. (An amendment to separate these issues lost by only one vote—17-16—in the House Armed Services Committee.

(2) The question of a terminal date for the bill (the House version has no terminal date for UMT).

(3) The question of limiting the total strength of the armed forces (House bill provides no ceiling).

(4) The question of Congressional authorization of additional troops for Europe.

Mail from "home" is still heavy against drafting eighteen-year-olds, and may result in significant changes in the bill under consideration.

The strength of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church, U.S.A., that has, through the years, stood against "any form of UMT or peacetime conscription," was placed on the side of the opponents of a permanent draft by the Division of Social Education and Action citing many General Assembly pronouncements, including the warnings that "the most ominous present threat to freedom and the peace of the world lies in the militarization of the nations. The United States, as the leading world power, should take bold steps to reverse such a trend." The Division's testimony also pointed out other General Assembly declarations against "this attempt [peacetime conscription] to regiment free men, this trend toward military domination of our society . . . the peril that our defense measures may precipitate the war we fear . . . that our free economy will be crushed beneath the intolerable burden of armaments."

Voters will be reaching their Representatives at home for the Easter recess and on their return to Washington April 3 to prepare them for the decisive fight in the House. If the historic American position against peacetime conscription is lost in this "last battle," a peacetime draft for the first time in over 150 years will be the common lot of eighteen-year-old American boys.

Alcohol—A bill has been introduced into both houses of Congress (**S. 265** and **H.R. 294**) providing a grant of $1,000,000 to a private agency (Prisoner's Relief Society, a nonprofit corporation) "for use in defraying the expenses of establishing, maintaining, and operating a system of farms for the treatment and rehabilitation of persons suffering from chronic alcoholism." The payment of this sum by the Federal Security Administrator is contingent upon the Society's expending, in addition to this amount, a minimum of $4,000,000 on the project. Many churchmen, interested in the problem of alcoholism, feel that a public institution rather than a privately owned and controlled project would be more worthy of Federal subsidy.

Reciprocal Trade Agreements—The March issue of SOCIAL PROGRESS states that the House has passed a bill extending the reciprocal trade agreements act for three years. However, prior to passage, four amendments were added from the floor. These were: (1) so-called peril-point amendment providing for notice to Congress by the President prior to any reduction below a certain level, (2) barring of any tariff reductions to Russia and her satellites, (3) providing procedure whereby injured industries can secure relief, (4) barring imports of farm items when such items are Government-supported.

Grain for India—In February, President Truman recommended in a message to Congress that authorization be given to ship two million tons of grain to feed India's starving millions. The Indian Government requested aid to alleviate its famine. The message (**H. Doc. 56**) was referred to the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations (chairman, Tom Connally, Texas) and to the House Foreign Affairs Committee (chairman, John Kee, W. Va.), and would make only the first million tons available for shipment in April with India paying transportation cost. Administration of the aid would be on the same basis as Marshall Plan aid for Europe.

At press time, however, the bill providing for such a grant seems to be locked up in the House Rules Committee. Prompt action is of the greatest importance, for the Indian people are in desperate need.

Churchmen are urged to write their representatives and the Chairman of the House Rules Committee to present the measure to the floor of the House. Common concern for human beings in distress as well as American national interests in maintaining friendly relations with Asia are involved.

Civil Rights—New bills have been reintroduced. Senator Ives of New York and eleven other Republicans have sponsored **S. 551**, which would establish a Federal Fair Employment Practices Commission. The new bill would meet the provisions of **S. 1728**, which was approved by the Senate Committee on Labor and Public Welfare of the 81st Congress, but was kept from debate in the Senate by a filibuster threat. The measure would provide "machinery needed to eliminate discrimination in all areas of Federal and defense activity so that our man power resources may be fully utilized." **S. J. Res. 12**, introduced by Senator Spessard L. Holland of Florida and eleven other Democratic Senators, calls for a constitutional amendment to eliminate the poll tax or any "property-holding qualification" as a prerequisite to voting in Federal elections. The House of Representatives of the 81st Congress and in four previous Congresses approved legislation to outlaw the poll tax, but the bills died in Senate committees.

Defense Housing and Community Facilities—Bills to authorize Federal grants-in-aid to provide housing and community facilities in communities affected by defense industry and installations have been introduced in the Senate (**S. 349**) and the House (**H.R. 1272**). As we go to press public hearings are being held before the Senate Committee on Banking and Currency, and in executive sessions of the House Banking and Currency Committee, following two weeks of public hearings.

THINK ABOUT THESE THINGS

Invocation:

"Almighty and everlasting God, in whom we live and move and have our being, who hast made us for Thyself, so that our hearts are restless till they rest in Thee: Grant us purity of heart and strength of purpose, that no selfish passion may hinder us from knowing Thy will, no weakness from doing it; that in Thy light we may see light clearly, and in Thy service find perfect freedom. Through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen."—*From* The Book of Common Worship (1946).

Hymn: "I Would Be True, for There Are Those Who Trust Me."

Bible Reading:

LEADER: "Now you are the body of Christ and individually members of it."

PEOPLE: *"If one member suffers, all suffer together; if one member is honored, all rejoice together."*

LEADER: "No temptation has overtaken you that is not common to man. God is faithful, and he will not let you be tempted beyond your strength, but with the temptation will also provide the way of escape, that you may be able to endure it."

PEOPLE: *"Therefore let any one who thinks that he stands take heed lest he fall."*

LEADER: "Every athlete exercises self-control in all things. They do it to receive a perishable wreath, but we an imperishable."

PEOPLE: *"Well, I do not run aimlessly, I do not box as one beating the air; but I pommel my body and subdue it, lest after preaching to others I myself should be disqualified."*

LEADER: " 'All things are lawful for me,' but not all things are helpful. 'All things are lawful for me,' but I will not be enslaved by anything."

PEOPLE: *"The body is not meant for immorality, but for the Lord, and the Lord for the body."*

LEADER: "Do you know that your body is a temple of the Holy Spirit within you, which you have from God? You are not your own; you were bought with a price. So glorify God in your body."

PEOPLE: *"Now we have received not the spirit of the world, but the Spirit which is from God, that we might understand the gifts bestowed on us by God."*

Prayer (*in unison*):

"Almighty God, gracious Father of men, who openest Thine hand and fillest all things with plenty: Teach us to use the gifts of Thy providence soberly and temperately. Grant, O Lord, that the blessings which Thou givest us may minister neither to sin nor to sickness, but to health and holiness and thanksgiving; that in the strength of Thy provision we may faithfully and diligently serve Thee; through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen."—*From* The Book of Common Worship (1946).

Group Meditation:

The following statements are taken from the Minutes of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A. If used in a group, the readings can be assigned.

I. "There are four reasons why alcoholic beverages merit new concern. First, the strength of the social pressures toward drinking is increasing. Second, scientific studies have made available new tools for understanding the problem. Third, only an approach which does not oversimplify the nature of the problem can have a chance of success. Fourth, the accelerated tempo of the machine exacts an increasing toll of deaths and injuries through the use of alcoholic beverages.

II. "Aid to Victims of Alcohol. We begin with pastoral and social concern for alcoholics and excessive drinkers and for their families. Alcoholics, as well as their families, need the full ministry of the Church. We recognize that once drinking has passed a certain point, alcoholism is a disease; that is, the drinking cannot be stopped by a mere resolution on the part of the drinker. He needs treatment, not punishment; understanding, not condemnation.

III. "Alcohol education in the Church must be persistent and many-sided, reaching adults no less than children and youth, accurate in its facts, uncompromising in its claims, intelligently graded and imaginatively presented. It should proceed despite those who deny there is an alcohol problem or those who believe the problem can be solved by a single act of legislation.

IV. "The aim of alcohol education is conviction and decision based on accurate knowledge. Dissemination of facts is not enough, but the facts presented must be both accurate and relevant. The following are our guiding principles of action:

"1. The program shall be conceived in long-range terms, not merely as a special promotion for a limited period. At the same time, it will utilize such imaginative and dramatic devices as will explain and convince about the seriousness of alcohol as a social problem.

"2. The program will look to the results of scientific study for accurate knowledge of facts, but it will not claim falsely the support of science for any action program.

"3. While the program will lead toward commitment and conviction from the point of view of Christian ethical standards, it shall clarify and explain the nature and strength of the social pressures toward drinking as well as help to create affirmative ways of conduct before which the pressures shall be powerless. The method is to win understanding, not to marshal arguments.

"4. While alcohol education shall be related to many activities within the Church, it must also be an object of special concern and program.

V. "Beverage alcohol is a serious social problem and cannot be ignored. It is also a complex problem and cannot be solved at once. As Christians we intend to act, taking those specific steps which we believe will lead most surely toward our goals of voluntary abstinence and elimination of the traffic."

Hymn: "Rise Up, O Men of God!"

Benediction.

—*Prepared by Earl F. Zeigler, D. D., Editor* Today *and Uniform Lessons.*

About Books

Primer on Alcoholism, by Marty Mann. Rinehart & Company, Inc. $2.00.

The Other Side of the Bottle, by Dwight Anderson, with Page Cooper. A. A. Wyn, Inc. $3.00.

Easy Does It—The Story of Mac, by Hugh Reilly. P. J. Kenedy & Sons. $3.00.

You Can Stop Drinking, by Harold Sherman. Creative Age Press, Inc. $2.49.

Drinking's Not the Problem, by Charles Clapp, Jr. Thomas Y. Crowell Company. $2.50.

Living Without Liquor, by Vernon Bronson Twitchell. De Vorss & Company. $1.00.

Here are six books of varying merit and usefulness about the tragic problem of alcohol addiction.

The best of the lot is Mrs. Mann's *Primer on Alcoholism.* This is a book about how people drink, how to recognize alcoholics, and what to do about them.

The author knows the problem from the inside. It is well known that Mrs. Mann was herself the first woman member of Alcoholics Anonymous—twelve or thirteen years ago when it boasted only forty members. As Executive Director of the National Committee on Alcoholism, a child of the Yale Plan but now on its own, Mrs. Mann has done as much as anyone in the nation to alert the public to the sober truth about alcohol addiction as a major American public-health problem.

Her book is especially useful in its description of alcoholism and alcoholic behavior, of the modern treatments, and of the program of Alcoholics Anonymous. It includes a rich what-to-do section for wives, husbands, children, friends, and employers of alcoholics.

We highly recommend it for ministers and others who work with people.

The Other Side of the Bottle, by Dwight Anderson, is another vivid and useful book about alcoholism from the inside. The author's own story of recovery from a seemingly hopeless form of alcohol addiction is supplemented by many dramatic case histories from life and literature.

Here is a readable presentation of nearly every aspect of alcoholism and of the various treatments available now and in the past—some useless, some good. The author's familiarity with medical research (he has been handling public relations for the medical society of the State of New York for many years) makes him skilled in evaluating the nostrums.

There is a chapter on the woman alcoholic; another on Alcoholic Anonymous; another on the Yale program. The role of the family in helping the victim of alcoholism is clearly outlined, as well as the responsibility of society.

Hugh Reilly's *Easy Does It* tells the revealing story of an alcoholic. Step by step, a man's degradation by alcohol is described, and then his victory and recovery through Alcoholics Anonymous. The book expounds a highly unsatisfactory theory of alcoholism, but it contains many good insights and suggestions about the disorder and its treatment. Only an alcoholic could have written it. The descriptions and exposition of AA's Twelve Steps to Recovery are excellent. One of the two principal characters is a minister who demonstrates the sympathy and understanding that one wishes all ministers of the gospel would show in dealing with this problem. Some will not like the way the minister provides liquor from his own supplies for the "tapering off" ordeal.

The other three volumes are addressed to the alcoholic. Mr. Sherman's book, *You Can Stop Drinking*, directs the sufferer to religious and psychological resources which are vaguely identifiable with New Testament Christianity. Many AA groups will find it very useful in pointing up the spiritual elements of the Twelve Steps. In *Drinking's Not the Problem*, Mr. Clapp speaks as a recovered alcoholic to alcoholics who want to recover. He talks their language, knows their special fears and frustrations, gives wise counsel in identifying the difficulties that often underlie excessive drinking. Dr. Twitchell's little book, *Living Without Liquor*, is full of good advice from a consulting psychologist who has worked successfully with many alcoholics.

The trouble with books addressed to alcoholics is that they cannot be used until the alcoholic has expressed a desire to be helped. They should be used with caution. To thrust a volume of this sort into the hand of an unwilling problem drinker usually has unfortunate results. For counsel on this point see Seward Hiltner's pamphlet, *Helping Alcoholics*, published by the Division of Social Education and Action two years ago, and still available as a "give away" to ministers.

Increasingly important for ministers is a sympathetic understanding of the disorder called alcoholism, and a real willingness to help its sufferers. The tragedy touches 4,000,000 Americans (1 in 16 of all who drink). Nearly 20,000,000 others are affected indirectly—the families, close friends, and employers of problem drinkers. Thus one person in eight is involved in the tragedy of alcoholism. The vocation of the pastor requires him to be concerned.

—*Clifford Earle.*

The United States and Japan, by Edwin O Reischauer. Harvard University Press. Cloth, $4.00.

This book is the most recent addition to the American Foreign Policy Library, which is being developed in response to the need in our country for information about the rest of the world, and is an excellent contribution to the series.

Mr. Reischauer has organized the book into four sections. The first is a concise record of the contacts and problems between the United States and Japan. He states here that "it was probably through Christianity and the Christian missionaries that the United States exerted its chief influence on Japan." He also suggests that "there is little evidence in Japanese history that democracy will find in Japan a congenial milieu already made for it." If a democratic system develops, it will have to begin at bedrock and the builders must be Japanese using Japanese cultural materials shaped as they may or may not be by world factors.

The second section presents the physical setting of people and land, natural resources, industrialization, and the economic system, showing the relationship of these factors to Japan's place in the world.

Dr. Reischauer's analysis of the Japanese character in section three is one of the most enlightening I have yet found. His treatment of Japanese concepts of shame obedience, will power, authority, hierarchy, and self-discipline is information that would have been of great service to me during the time I, as an American civilian, had to deal with members of the Japanese Army in China. By the same token I suggest this part of the book as especially helpful to those Americans who are now working with the Japanese.

The last part of the book is a frank statement of the problems of the occupation. The author speaks from a background of long experience and advanced study in his field. Dr. Reischauer was born in Tokyo and lived for seventeen years in Japan. He speaks and reads Japanese and has made Japan his major study. He has served as Special Assistant to the Chief of the Office of Far Eastern Affairs, Chairman of the Japan-Korea Secretariat, Lieutenant Colonel in Army Intelligence Service, and member of the Cultural and Social Science Mission to Japan for the Army department.

The documents appended to the book are invaluable to the student of Far Eastern affairs: the Potsdam Proclamation, United States Initial Post-Surrender Policy for Japan, the Constitution of Japan, a good list of books for further study.

—*Archie R. Crouch.*

Building Up Your Congregation, Help from Tested Business Methods, by Willard Pleuthner. Wilcox & Follett Company. $2.50.

If I could afford it, I would buy a copy of this book for every Presbyterian pastor.

It was written by an advertising executive, and contains three major sections. One deals with methods of increasing attendance at church services; another, with tested ideas for increasing financial support; and a third, with church publicity. Each section is followed by a plan sheet and a check list, which makes it a working tool. There is also an excellent list of books and references for further reading. It is unusual to find a book written by a layman which begins with a prayer for the reader. It's a good one!

There are enough ideas in this book to make it pay for itself if one uses only a few of them, but it is so stimulating that I challenge any pastor to fail to find it among the most helpful books he could ever read.

—*Gordon W. Mattice.*

God's Grace and Man's Hope, by Daniel Day Williams. Harper & Brothers. $2.75.

"I have written this book to state and defend two convictions about that hope [of the possibility of a good society on earth]. The first is that there is solid ground in human experience for believing that the better world can be made. It is cynicism and nihilism which in the last resort are unrealistic about what human life can be. The second conviction is that any enduring hope must be based, not upon man alone, but upon the fact that God is present in human history, and is there creatively and redemptively at work." So writes Dr. Williams, associate professor of Christian theology in the Federated Theological Faculty of the University of Chicago and the Chicago Theological Seminary, in the preface to his book. The core of the book formed the Rauschenbusch Lectures for 1947.

Professor Williams tries with considerable success to develop an adequate theology for the social gospel. Criticizing both the "liberal" point of view and the "neo-orthodox," he seeks to provide an interpretation of the Christian faith which can guide moral effort and sustain the exercise of social intelligence while it strengthens our hold upon the reality of God's judgment and his mercy.

Starting from the common ground of the Christian's assurance that all human history is understood as the working out of God's redemption of a world "which He has created good, which has fallen away from Him, and which He redeems from sin and death through a victory whose cost is the death of His son on the cross," Williams analyzes the problem of man's destiny, the nature of God's working and of our knowledge of him, the Kingdom of God's love as ultimate good, the contradiction between the Kingdom of God and the kingdoms of this world.

In his chapter on "Time, Progress, and the Kingdom of God," we find the core of his theology in the symbol of the "reign of the embattled Christ." "To live as a believer in the reign of Christ means to live within the battle not apart from it. It is no sham battle. But to believe that Christ reigns within the battle is to find peace," he explains.

The remainder of the book considers what this interpretation of the Christian philosophy of history implies for social as well as for individual ethics, and for the progress of the Christian toward spiritual maturity.

This concept of God as working in human life, a present creative and redemptive working, is certainly a heartening one. Early in the book the author states his willingness to leave the case with the reader as to his success or failure in developing a satisfactory theology for the social gospel. This reviewer is confident that he has succeeded.

Particularly valuable is his persistent willingness to state the two extreme positions represented by liberalism and neo-orthodoxy, and then to go beyond them to a realistic point of view. This is the sort of writing we need if our Christianity is to have any vital word for our day.

—*Paul C. McFarlin.*

All Things Common, by Claire Huchet Bishop. Harper & Brothers. $3.00.

With varied feelings one reads Claire Huchet Bishop's account of the Communitarian groups now being formed throughout Western Europe. A close-up of these fervent crusaders and "artisans of a better life" is presented in *All Things Common.*

"We know that a new world is being born," declare brave workers who aspire toward preparing a mental atmosphere for a "fraternal world," while they earn their daily bread and shape their children's future. They labor for man's rescue from war, want, and hate.

Boimondau, where watchcases are manufactured, is representative of the Communitarian groups that have been initiated in some fifty localities. Here each worker is remunerated according to his technical and social value to the community, which is determined on the basis of intellectual, artistic, and religious attributes, "family man" assets, sense of fellowship, and contribution to the common good. Competitive instinct is preserved through effort to better oneself and command recognition. Competition which "takes from one to give to another" is repudiated.

No Utopian "common purse," no common living quarters have part in the plan. But industrial revolution advantages with mass production are favored as "time-saving" to insure leisure for studies and diversion which will provide all-round development for each individual. Profits do exist in the Communitarian setup, but they are for the *many* instead of the few.

"We are our brother's keeper," is the cherished refrain. "Only through *us* may others hope for the life abundant." Communist doctrine, approving dialectic materialism with economics supreme, differs from Communitarianism, which looks to man's self-fulfillment and spiritual unfolding through mutual aid, education, and social ownership of means of production. Capitalism with the money motive is rejected.

At Geneva milkmen are finding a way to cut losses and achieve a sense of solidarity. Near Paris, an actor's company or community divide receipts equally, regardless of "stars," which means "bread for all, and a pair of shoes once in a while!" At Bilthoven, a Holland Communitarian School, which Queen Juliana's daughters attend, is modeled on sociocratic methods: workshop classes, no regimentation, self-discipline with co-workers made up of school board, teachers, and children on equal footing.

Communitarian ideals may serve as a leaven for the wry world which asks for a practical approach in curing the ills of the "haves" as well as of the "have-nots." Claire Bishop does not contemplate a millennium, but believes that deep in the heart of all is an urge toward mutual helpfulness and nobility of life if it can only be nurtured.

—*Mary D. de Piza'.*

"NOT BY MIGHT, NOR BY POWER, BUT BY MY SPIRIT"

By **OTTO PIPER,** ***Professor of New Testament Literature and Exegesis, Princeton Theological Seminary, Princeton, N. J.***

MORE than ever in this time of national and international crisis we are anxious as Christians to contribute to its solution the wisdom and the resources that Jesus Christ alone holds out for an ailing and perplexed world. But we are also painfully aware of the fact that what has been suggested thus far on the part of the Church has been remarkably inadequate, and hence the world goes on as though the gospel had never been proclaimed to it. However, we would miss the helpful message that God is sending us in this hour of agony if we were to put all the blame upon the world. In the past, we deluded ourselves too frequently by raising demands to be fulfilled by people other than ourselves, e.g., the men in government, the economic leaders of the nation, or the unbelievers. But they represent us and make commitments that we must fulfill.

Let Us Confess Our Faltering Faith

Rather let us humbly confess our share in the confusion of this world. Let us realize that it was our lack of faith that deprived our word of convicting power, and let us look out for the gift of spiritual strength that comes from Jesus Christ alone, and which is the only means by which our efforts can become effective factors in the destinies of men and nations.

The terrible turn which in recent times the affairs of our nation and of mankind have taken drives home to us with relentless clarity the fact that more often than not we failed to put our trust in Jesus Christ and in him alone. Instead of emphatically and boldly proclaiming the universal Lordship of our Saviour we joined the world in its belief that political, economic, and military measures and resources would suffice to establish harmony, order, and justice in this world, and thus we disregarded the gifts which the Lord himself puts at our disposal.

The results of our weak faith are too evident to be denied any longer. Unwilling to accept Christ's offer to forgive us our sins, and to accept his wisdom as the guide of our life and conduct, we have both as individuals and as a nation fallen into self-righteousness. We are too easily inclined in our conflicts with others to see all the right on our side and the wrong on the side of our adversaries.

We do not like to consider the possibility that, perhaps unwillingly, we might have hurt or wronged them. This spirit of self-righteousness has in turn poisoned our whole public life, and fostered by press and radio it has rendered international negotiations increasingly more difficult.

The Fruits of Fear

At the same time our lack of faith has allowed fear to invade our hearts. Not trusting in the superior power of him who is the Lord of Lords and the King of Kings, we measured our resources with those of neighbor nations and thought ours wanting. Hence arose the desire to match and surpass the military strength and effectiveness of our potential enemies. Yet we should realize that no matter to what point we carry rearmament our fears will never be allayed as long as we consider our help contingent upon man power and weapons only.

What is worse is the change of mentality and character called forth by such fear. We are destroying the very foundation of our democracy, viz., the belief that the fellow citizen is as loyal to the cause of our country as ourselves, and that while vigilant care for the well-being of the nation is imperative, we must, nevertheless, except for clear evidence to the contrary, believe in our fellow citizen's good faith. Instead, fear has created in our country an atmosphere of distrust and suspicion, which, at a time when the nation should stand united, is apt to split us wide open.

Our Might Aggravates the Problem

No less detrimental are the results of such fear for the way we as a nation look at other nations. So many of us have resigned ourselves to the fatalistic belief that for the solution of international problems war is the necessary and inevitable means. We seem to be unable any longer to resort to peaceful solutions of international problems, because our fear makes us suspicious of everyone else. Above all, we are conditioning ourselves to a handling of world questions exclusively from the viewpoint of our own might as the biggest and the most advanced nation of the Western world.

Small wonder that the U N should have become a body of conflicting groups that are scrambling for leadership and dominion. Consequently, our country has done little in the recent past to restore that body to its original and most wholesome function, viz., to be a forum at which international grievances should be aired, and a place for constructive negotiation and co-operation of all the peoples of the world. Nations are kept out of the U N because one group or another fears lest by their admission the rival group would be strengthened, and thus the U N is increasingly alienated from the ideal goal for which it was created.

A Pagan Nationalism

We believe that out of one root God made all men, and that it is his will that they should live together, work together, and respect each other. For failure to see and acknowledge that divine goal, modern wars are fought on all sides without regard for the inhabitants of that country which, in God's wrath, happens to become the battlefield. We have fallen back into the pagan idea that the end for which wars are fought is the killing and extermination of the enemy and the complete destruction of his property, while by the will of God we should seek in our fightings to lay the basis for peace and future co-operation. We see in the practical disregard of the Geneva and Hague Conventions, which characterizes modern warfare, an indication of the pagan misunderstanding of national sovereignty. A nation that is unwilling to limit its freedom of action by basic moral considerations for its neighbors thereby destroys the foundation of its existence.

The modern concept of total war defeats the very ends for which wars are fought. It ruins the delicate balance of world trade and thus precipitates economic crises on an international scale. It sows the seeds of new conflicts by filling the hearts of the vanquished with hatred, resentment, and contempt of the victors. The fear into which our lack of faith has thrown us has caused an armament race entirely out of proportion with the lasting needs of our nation, and it places an unjust burden upon our children and grandchildren. Yielding to emotional appeals, we now are about seriously to endanger our peacetime economy, man power resources, and the adequate training of future generations, while at the same time doing irreparable harm to the economic life and rehabilitation of our allies and friends.

Our Oneness and Diversity Willed by God

We deplore the fact that the political developments of recent times have accentuated the political divergencies both within our own denomination and in ecumenical relations. Let us not blaspheme our Lord by treating the oneness of his body as an empty phrase. The diversity of political views and ways is not evil in itself, but rather, as all diversity in this world, it is willed by God. But to bring about the common good, such diversity cannot serve God's purpose unless, despite the varying political viewpoints and partisanship, we have before us the vision of a common goal. We must not pursue our own interests at the expense, or to the detriment, of others.

It is a wrong idea of loyalty and patriotism incompatible with the Lordship of Jesus Christ, when we advocate or support a policy of national egotism or become the uncritical and unreserved followers of a political party. Our Christian faith does not call us away from political and economic life but rather assigns us a responsible position therein.

But we shall never fulfill our Christian obligation unless in all we do in public life we seek first God's righteousness, embracing the goal that he has set for mankind, and acting in the spirit of wisdom, which is a spirit of service rather than of self-assertion.

Presbyterian Churches Report Inclusive Membership

Several weeks ago questionnaires were sent to some 5,800 Presbyterian churches requesting information about racial integration. Replies came from more than 2,800 churches.

Approximately 860 churches indicated that minority racial groups are represented in their constituencies. One or more persons of a minority race are members, regular attenders, or actively related to the programs of these churches.

This is a ratio of 14.5% of the churches to which questionnaires were sent, or 13% of the local congregations in the Presbyterian Church, U.S.A.

The number of churches reporting one or more persons of the minority group in their memberships was 755 or about 11% of the Presbyterian congregations in the country.

The minority groups specifically covered in the study were: Puerto Rican, Japanese, Chinese, Mexican, Indian, and Negro. White churches with persons of Japanese ancestry in their membership numbered 143.

Predominately white churches reporting Negro members totaled 123. These churches are located principally in the following states: New York (40), Pennsylvania (17), New Jersey (11), California (11), Ohio (8). The rest were scattered among 16 states, none of them south of the Mason and Dixon line. One of our Negro churches in Virginia, however, reports having white persons in its membership.

The survey is now moving into its second phase, which is a study of the processes by which Presbyterian churches have achieved integration in the matter of racial groups. Elaborate questionnaires have been sent to several hundred churches reporting members from minority racial groups. These questionnaires, when the data has been collated and interpreted, will reveal useful techniques that can be used by other churches facing similar situations. The study will be completed when on-the-spot surveys are made of half a dozen selected churches in which inclusiveness is a reality.

The completed study will be presented in a handbook on racial and cultural relations that is now being prepared by the Division of Social Education and Action. This handbook is based on the report of the Institute on Racial and Cultural Relations which completed its three-year assignment last February.

THE COST OF DEFENSE

The editors of Public Affairs Institute, Dewey Anderson, Executive Director, have graciously released to SOCIAL PROGRESS *these excerpts from an important spring publication entitled* **Defense—Peace—A Strong America—A Better World.**

THE payment for past wars and the maintenance of some measure of defense accounts primarily for the great increase in Federal Government costs over the years, the heavier tax burden on the people, and the growing dependence of citizens on their Government. Now, as we launch a defense drive that may become our way of life for ten to twenty years or longer, the costs of defense should be fully known and universally understood.

The chart on the outside back cover shows in the first column, "1950 Before Korea," the cost of Federal Government activities in the last year preceding "defense." This is the year from which we step off into the stratosphere of defense spending. Even so, about two thirds of a total peacetime budget of $40.2 billions went for foreign and domestic military services and the liquidation of the costs of past wars.

Prior to the last war, no such item appeared in Federal Government peacetime budgets as "Foreign Aid." But in 1950, ECA and assistance to support civilian populations in occupied countries and other free nations totaled 10 per cent of all Federal expenditures, or more than $4 billions. This left $10 billions, or 25 cents of the tax dollar, to provide the usual and essential domestic Government services required by a growing population now reaching 150 million.

Now take a look at the chart on page 9, which gives details of our Federal budget for the defense year 1952. Stepped-up military needs and the continuing costs of past wars will take 85 cents of the budget dollar. Out of a much-increased budget reaching $72 billions, $61.2 billions will go for these purposes. But internal aid and improvement of conditions in the United States will receive $8.7 billions as compared with $10 billions spent on a "better America" in 1950. Here is a fact of no small import: as we go on with our essential military defense program, we sacrifice on the social-economic front, the very one where the enemies of democracy seek to undermine the faith of our people in their institutions and government. While the outlay for social welfare was thin enough in 1950, the impact of Korea and the prospect of "no peace" for an indefinite number of years makes the outlook increasingly bleak.

By 1953, when defense planners expect rearmament to reach its peak, the Federal budget may well exceed the all-time high of $79 billions spent in the war year 1943. It is then expected that we shall be equipped to engage in a global conflict at a moment's notice. This is the level of strength that military experts believe necessary to provide "adequate defense." Following the peak rearmament of 1953, the defense planners expect a leveling off of Federal expenditures to a comparatively constant figure of at least $35 billions a year for whatever period of time defense dominates the national and international scene—10-20-30 years, or more. This will keep in training at all times an armed force of 3,500,000 Americans supplemented by the National Guard and Reserve Corps, as well as assist materially with the maintenance of the defense forces of our allies. Coupled with the costs of past wars and essential Government services, the continuing defense budget could level off at $50 billions a year or more for an indefinite number of years.

Burden of Defense on Individuals

Consider what a burden this level of military defense means. For example, the $47 billions earmarked for military services in 1952 represents a tax load of $310 per capita for the 150 million U. S. inhabitants. For an average family of four, that burden represents 40 per cent of the income ($3,014) that the family earned in 1948, its best year. We haven't gone on an entirely pay-as-we-go basis, nor does the tax burden fall with equal severity on all income levels of the population. Because the tax system is regressive in character, that is, it falls heavier on persons of lower incomes than on the wealthy, the average and below-average income families—those least able to carry the cost—must bear a disproportionate burden of armament and defense.

Burden of Defense on the National Economy

As pointed out by the President's Council of Economic Advisers in its January, 1951, report, we devoted as much as 45 per cent of our total output to defense purposes during World War II, and, far from wrecking our economy, came through those trying years with a stronger labor force and better industrial plant than we had when we started. Now, the allocation of as much as 25 per cent of a much larger resource to national security will not do irreparable harm to the economy. But the economists hasten to add:

"Marked changes in the composition of output would be required, but nonetheless it would permit the maintenance of satisfactory standards of living, although production of housing and many types of consumers goods would have to be more sharply restricted than presently contemplated. However, a large number of families and individuals would undergo a more marked reduction in living standards than would be indicated by the over-all figures."

Senator Paul Douglas, advocating a 6,000,000 man army for defense rather than the more conservative figure of the defense planners of 3,500,000, estimates that the cost to the Federal Government will be approximately $80 billions a year, plus the state and local government expenditures of about $22 billions. This figure of more than a hundred billions comes to about 40 per cent of the net national income.

The Senator concludes:

"This would be a severe, and, in many ways, frightening burden. It would certainly require a reduction in the general standard of living, and I think business, labor, agriculture, and the consumer should all be warned that such a reduction is probably coming."

Effect of Defense Costs on Living Standards

What is all too completely concealed by such over-all figures is the direct impact of such an allocation of the "net national income" or the "total output" for defense on the income and living standards of various segments of the population. Any limitation or curtailment of services provided the people by the Government inevitably falls most heavily on the living standards of the mass of middle-class or lower-income people. It matters little, for example, to those wealthy parents whose children are in private schools if this burden of defense results in the curtailment of public educational opportunity. But it may spell the difference between an elementary school education and no education to many children of poor parents in our more backward sections.

To train and support a soldier, exclusive of major procurement of weapons and facilities, etc., costs the nation $5,600 a year. Removing him from the labor force costs us, conservatively, about $3,000 a year in lost production if he is not replaced. This is a very real burden of rearmament. The labor force at work must produce an extra $9,000 or more of products each year for every man in the armed services. For the 3,500,000 man army planned for defense, this equals nearly $35 billions a year. If the larger proposal of Senator Paul Douglas for an army of 6,000,000 is our goal, then the cost to society of maintaining that level of defense will approximate $60 billions annually.

Effects of Defense Costs on Education

Defense means powerful pressure to cut nondefense expenditures to the bone. Here are some of its effects on education:

It costs about $100 a year to provide education for an elementary school pupil. In 1949-1950 we invested $4 billions in education that, good as it was, fell below the need of our people. If we didn't have to use our physical and fiscal resources for defense purposes, the cost of supporting the planned level of defense forces for a single year would allow nine times the educational facilities we made available during 1949-1950. Education is particularly a casualty of defense.

The Federal Security Agency's 1950 report summarizes the educational situation in this terse way: millions of children are getting no schooling and millions more are "being shortchanged for lack of teachers, buildings, and equipment." The unexpected growth in our school-age population has only "made a bad matter worse; the plain fact is that we ourselves were not doing as well by our schools as in the past."

Even in 1950, nearly 2,000,000 children between six and seventeen years of age were not in school because in many instances there were no schools available where they lived. The pile-up of unmet educational needs is so great that by 1960 the additional schoolrooms required to house our elementary and secondary school children will reach 500,000, and cost not less than $14 billions.

We currently provide barely one third the number of elementary school teachers required each year. We graduate only one fifth of the annual number of qualified teachers required. This failure to make proper provision for education in a democracy can prove tragic. Miseducated or uneducated people accept easy substitutes for the more arduous but important task of hammering out sound public policy.

Noticeable changes in educational emphasis accompany our necessary preoccupation with defense. Teenage men are forced to undergo military training and a prolonged period of enlistment in the armed services just as they are about to make their decisions concerning professional and technical careers and begin their training for them. Colleges become increasingly dependent on Federal subsidies to the natural sciences for their support. The long-cherished "freedom of learning" that has distinguished the university is subject to subtle pressures that pose grave questions concerning its future and the future of academic freedom.

Defense Costs and Our National Resources

Armaments use up vital resources, such as oil, copper, zinc, iron ore, and lead, at an alarming rate. Our known domestic commercially important stocks of these vital natural resources face exhaustion within a generation. At the pre-Korean rate of use, it was estimated that our high-grade iron ore would last another thirty years; copper, fifteen years; lead, thirteen years. At present defense-use rates, these resources will be exhausted more rapidly and new and marginal supplies will have to be used at ever-higher costs. We are living with scarcities of raw materials now as a result of our past failures to conserve them properly. We are paying higher prices for them, and being compelled to find substitutes.

We can invest steel and labor in battleships and tanks to produce temporary jobs and huge profits and provide the defense we require—but these investments must be written off quickly. Or we can invest public funds in steel and labor for power dams, irrigation projects, flood control, forest and soil conservation. This kind of investment will pay us back many times in permanent jobs, reclaimed land, fruitful farms, property saved from destructive floods, vast natural beauty spots and recreational areas, made available to this and future generations, and abundant cheap electric power for domestic and industrial use. We can load phosphorous into bombs to burn populations, or we can turn it into soil-building fertilizer to help to feed ourselves and the world.

Consider these contrasting facts: $35 billions devoted through necessity to defense, which destroys precious natural resources, or what that one-year investment in defense would

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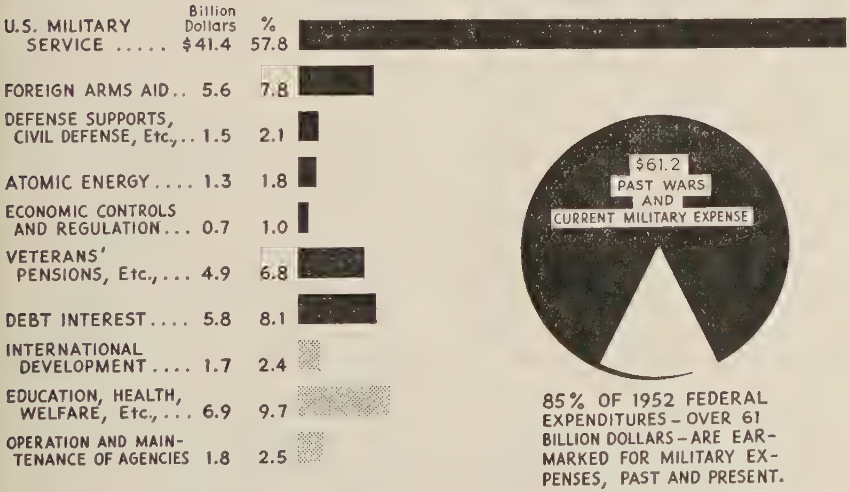
YOUR FEDERAL BUDGET – 1952

BILLIONS OF DOLLARS



85% OF 1952 FEDERAL EXPENDITURES – OVER 61 BILLION DOLLARS – ARE EARMARKED FOR MILITARY EXPENSES, PAST AND PRESENT.

SOURCE: Bureau of the Budget

do if turned into the constructive channels of conservation, development, and use of our wasting natural resources.

In its study *America's Needs and Resources,* the Twentieth Century Fund estimated the cost of a minimum and feasible rural and river valley development program for the river basins of the nation. After adjustment for price differences, we calculate the cost at $90 billions invested over a thirty-year period of time. This is the minimum of public investment confronting us, if and when we decide to halt their eventual ruination. It is a staggering sum and will come only after a substantial reversal in public understanding and policy. Yet it represents only 75 per cent of the amount that we are committed to use up in armaments and defense within the next two years.

The $90 billions put to conservation of natural resources would allow full development of the "10 Rivers in America's Future" that are the subject of the recent investigation by the President's Commission on Water Resources. That river development program would require $50 billions, including about half that amount for expansion of profitable electric power. Another $25 billions would be invested in crop development and grazing land conservation that would improve mightily the yields and the permanent value of our farm lands. And finally, $15 billions of the total $90 billions would be invested in forest conservation, timber development, watershed control, and recreational areas.

An investment of $3 billions a year for thirty years not only would protect us from scarcities of natural resources in the future but would keep prices down and insure increasing abundance. It would provide permanent jobs for at least a million new workers—equal to the number that have been put to work on defense jobs since Korea. It would offer an immediate substitute for the economic injection given the economy by defense expenditures of sufficient magnitude to ease the transition from a predominantly defense-armaments economy to one dedicated to peaceful purposes.

One dilemma of American power in the world today is the fear of abandoning what seems to be a surefire, attractive way of insuring full employment and high profits, namely, a world in crisis with its huge arms budgets. The prospect offered by a natural resources development effort of sufficient size to accomplish major conservation purposes in the United States is a challenging and constructive answer to that fear. Coupled to an adequately bold new program of "Point Four" assistance for the underdeveloped parts of the world, there need be no fear of our ability to provide full employment under conditions of peace without the use of any resources for armaments and defense.

A POLITICAL PILGRIM'S PROGRESS

By CHARLES M. JONES, *Minister, Presbyterian Church, Chapel Hill, North Carolina.*

FRANK PORTER GRAHAM is known and loved throughout the State of North Carolina and the Southland as a champion of the people. Whether he was serving his state as teacher in high school, or as president of the University of North Carolina, Dr. Graham has with vision and courage seen issues and fought battles for the people.

North Carolinians, along with the rest of the nation, were staggering under the heavy burdens of the depression thirties. Banks and businesses were closing, farms were being lost by foreclosure, thousands were unemployed. Every week saw an exodus of students from the University of North Carolina with the same tragic story on their lips—no money.

What could be done? The bank account of the state was as flat as the pocketbooks of its citizens and no help could come from legislative appropriations.

"Dr. Frank," as the students affectionately called the president of the university, found a way to help. Climbing into his Ford (he never allowed the people of the state to buy him a car larger than a Ford or Chevrolet), Frank Graham toured North Carolina, raising over a hundred thousand dollars for a student loan fund. The young people of the state had found a champion!

When GI students flooded the university after World War II, dormitories, hastily erected Quonset huts, and private dwellings could not hold them all. Declaring that no student who wanted an education should be denied it, Dr. Graham opened up the president's home and shared his living with them. Some people praised him for his generosity, but his reply was, "The home belongs to the people of the state." So the GI found a champion!

Indeed, he had a unique conception of the university as "the people's university." At a time when labor unions were feared and fought in the South, Dr. Graham offered university facilities to them for short-term courses and meetings. Bankers, accountants, sanitation engineers, advertisers, and journalists were using these facilities—why not labor unions? When reminded by an official of a labor union that the membership included both Negroes and whites, Frank Graham broadened the invitation to include Negro union officers as well as white. For several years during his presidency the working people of the state found their university their servant as they learned how to conduct meetings, write grievances, and bargain collectively. The laborer had found a champion!

As a member of the Presbyterian Church he again championed the cause of the people, and joined his fellow elders in leading the Church to serve all worshipers. It was Frank Graham who helped to pen the adopted policy:

"This Church should not fail to manifest a vocal and active concern and leadership in behalf of justice and good will in the relations between all the races, creeds, and classes of mankind. . . .

"We do not close our doors or discriminate against or receive with aught but the spirit of Christian brotherhood any sincere worshiper who may present himself. . . .

"We openly acknowledge the responsibility of the Church to stand for the economic, educational, political, social, and religious progress of all the peoples regardless of race, color, or creed . . . .

"We have a long-range sense of the responsibility of the Christian Church for leading the people in a gradually widening religious communion of the Church Universal. We pray God for the wisdom and the spirit which in these perplexing times will not alienate but win the people."

Newspaper comment throughout the United States was most favorable when the governor of North Carolina, also a Presbyterian, appointed Dr. Graham to fill the unexpired term of Senator Broughton, who died suddenly while holding that office. The new Senator was recognized as a man of wisdom and integrity, who could not be bought or bribed. He would serve all the people of the state. Some of his best friends thought him too good and too honest to be effective as a politician. Yet his record following his appointment justified the governor's choice of a man of such high Christian character.

Having served out the unexpired term of Senator Broughton, Frank Graham had to stand for election to see if the governor's choice was also the people's choice.

Frank Graham was rejected by his state, and the nation was stupefied! How could it be? Dr. Graham conducted a highly intelligent campaign, facing both domestic and international issues with wisdom and frankness. His spirit, ideals, and goals were so apparent as he went about the state speaking simply and directly to the people.

We Christians have long held that truth and right are powerful weapons in moral conflict because they are God's weapons: "Ye shall know the truth, and the truth shall make you free." Yet the people of North Carolina failed to respond to Graham's statements of truth!

We in the South have long known a type of demagogue who has neither character nor ability to recommend him to the voters, so he abandons the discussion of issues and raises fear and prejudice by crying "Nigger." Such campaigning has sent to the Senate men who believe in neither democracy nor Christianity and who can be most aptly described as political ruffians. In the North it is to be observed that where the cry of "Nigger" doesn't work, the same result is achieved by shouting "Communist." The opponents of Frank Graham shot a doubled-barreled gun, for they shouted "Nigger" and "Communist."

A file of campaign materials used by his opponents makes sickening reading. The deliberate falsification and distortion of truth are almost beyond belief! Men who were afraid of a man of Christian principles and personal integrity flooded North Carolina with the word that Frank Graham had leftist tendencies, wanted to destroy Southern racial customs, and was a member of Communist organizations.

Advertisements in daily and weekly newspapers attacked him on the ground that he kept disreputable company. The American Civil Liberties Union, for example, was portrayed as Communist infiltrated and dominated, and Graham's affiliation with it was assailed. Well-informed persons know that the American Civil Liberties Union is one of the strong bulwarks against our fast receding civil liberties. Roger Baldwin, head of the organization, called the attention of some of the newspapers to the fact that it was so American that MacArthur had requested and received its services in working out a plan for civil liberties in Japan in 1947. A similar job was done in Germany for the American officials in 1948. But the damage was done—the lie was told. Attempts to give the public the facts repeatedly failed.

Extensive use was made of leaflets. One leaflet, entitled *FEPC—Before and After!* was in the form of two cartoons. The "before" cartoon pictured a factory filled with white workers. The "after" cartoon pictured the same factory now mostly filled with Negroes and a white job seeker being turned away. All this, too, after Graham had stated he was against compulsory FEPC and had been all along. It mattered not that a bishop of the Episcopal Church made a public statement verifying this fact —the lie was told.

Soon after his appointment to the Senate, Dr. Graham held competitive examinations to fill a vacancy to West Point. A Negro stood third highest in the examinations. He was accordingly appointed second alternate by Dr. Graham. But the Senator's political opponents printed leaflets with the Negro's picture and a statement that Dr. Graham had appointed him to West Point. It made no mention that the Negro was second alternate and that the appointments were made by democratic procedures.

WIDE use was made of the mails. Perhaps the worst such piece of literature mailed was entitled *South Under Attack*, which was sent to box holders in small towns. It was signed by one of the state's most prominent manufacturers, and stated that "a highly financed, well-organized campaign is being carried on *to force* white people in the Southern States of the United States and in South Africa to do things which they consider unwise and to which they are bitterly opposed.

"During World War II, Walter White, Harlem head of the NAACP, decided they would have Negro bands placed on all large ships to bring about more intimate association of white people and Negroes. When Secretary of War Knox flatly rejected their demands, they turned to friends at Chapel Hill, N.C., and had a large Negro band sent to that all-white Southern university.

"Citizens of Chapel Hill state that the Negro band was received enthusiastically by the white wife of the pastor of Frank Graham's church and that she invited white people and other Negroes to dine with them at her home.

"A member of the board of trustees of the university stated he arrived at his home one afternoon and found a group of angry men gathered. They informed him that this white woman had got together a number of white girls (supposedly from the North) and that they were having a picnic near Chapel Hill with Negro members of the band. They told him if something wasn't done quickly they would clean up the mess themselves. According to reports, he stirred his stumps, and considerable unfavorable publicity was avoided.

"A little later a professor addressed a so-called brotherhood meeting in a Protestant church. He was asked if he taught that the white man, the black man, the bushman, the pygmy, the gorilla, the baboon, the monkey, and all the rest belonged to the same family. He said that he did. When asked if all were entitled to attend brotherhood meetings, he said he supposed so. One observer remarked that it looked as though the doors of this Protestant church were thrown open to everyone except Jesus of Nazareth, who was described by some as a false prophet and an impostor, and that Communism had arrived.

"Senator Johnson of Texas says the filibuster is our only means so far of resisting the FEPC and other attacks on the South. Frank Graham says he will not support a filibuster."

And so, thousands of rural box holders were informed of the impending danger!

WHILE his opponents raved and ranted Graham preached a gospel of basic principles. Even at the last, when the fight became bitterest, he refused to stoop to conquer. Throughout the state he presented a simple statement of a Christian code of ethics. Instead of pleading for votes he gave principles for building a peaceful world. Instead of condemning his opponent he showed the importance of carrying forward a program for the improvement of farmer, worker, and businessman. Instead of inflaming with prejudice he told men how North Carolina's two races might work out their problems without bitterness and rancor.

In a factory at High Point, Dr. Graham noticed a campaign leaflet to boost his candidacy. It indicated that if his opponent were elected, wages would be reduced to fifteen cents per hour. On seeing it he turned to his aide and said, "Who put that out?"

His aide shook his head and Graham continued: "I don't want it coming from headquarters. I'm not interested in attacking anyone. I only want to explain what I'm for. I want it stopped."

A campaign worker shouted, "Isn't it true that Willis Smith is the biggest liar in North Carolina?"

Graham stopped, looked in the direction of the voice, stood silent for a moment, and, choosing his words, said: "I haven't said a word about that. I wouldn't say that. I'm not saying anything against any human being."

Even so, he was rejected by the people of North Carolina—rejected as being radical, revolutionary, and dangerous. From a Christian perspective he was only "as radical as the Beatitudes, as revolutionary as the Constitution, as dangerous as the Bill of Rights."

THE Christian Church should ask itself some pointed questions in the light of the results of this election. Has the Christian Church so watered down the gospel that men can't recognize the truth when they hear it? How in the name of Christianity and democracy can one affirm that segregation is right? Have we done so little with the gospel of Christ that men are blind even to that sin? And the men who spread such lies and waged such a campaign—they too were Christians—to what are they committed? And the ministers of the gospel—why were not their voices raised against the appeal to prejudice and fear? "Ye shall know the truth"! Have we interpreted that too shallowly?

And the future—will good and true men fear to run? Or will they say as Frank Graham said in a message to his friends following his defeat:

"Deep in our hearts is gratitude to all of you who kept the faith and who regard defeat as only a temporary setback in a cause which surely will triumph in the minds and hearts of the people of our great state.

"The comradeship of this struggle will be a source of faith and hope and a most precious possession all the days of our lives."

An App

THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY AND PEACETIME CONSCRIPTION

THE General Assembly has year after year borne an unbroken testimony against "any form of universal military training or peacetime conscription," warning that such defense "measures may precipitate the very war we fear, and that our free economy will be crushed beneath the intolerable burden of armaments." This year when the Selective Service bill, an emergency measure, had combined with it the permanent universal military training feature to provide an "enduring basis" for a "strong military posture," the Division of Social Education and Action entered the strong testimony of the Presbyterian Church, U.S.A., against any form of "permanent peacetime conscription," and opposed this attempt to make an emergency action permanent.

Last year the Standing Committee on Social Education and Action brought no statement on peacetime conscription to the General Assembly, concluding that it was unnecessary in view of the many statements made through the years. The omission was noted by a Commissioner from the Assembly floor and the Clerk was asked for an interpretation. Dr. William Barrow Pugh, in the closing hour of his last Assembly, reminded the Commissioners that pronouncements "stand" unless withdrawn by act of this body. The General Assembly was satisfied with this interpretation and no further action was taken.

Perhaps in view of the intensity of the present debate, the General Assembly will wish to review and make unmistakably clear its position on this particular issue that there may be no uncertainty as to the mind of the Church on so important a question. In the years since the war, America's 150-year stand in strength and freedom against permanent peacetime conscription has been determinedly attacked by those who believe security requires an all-out arms program. This attack is being met by such leaders as Congressman Dewey Short, of the Armed Services Committee, who before the House declared this bill for permanent conscription will "draft men at an earlier age, compel them to serve a longer period than any other member of the Atlantic Pact. . . . Even in Soviet Russia they are not called up as early." He continued: "You cannot tell me that an 18-year-old boy has the stamina

to Faith

. . . of older men. . . . I talked to [a wounded officer] at Percy Jones Hospital. . . . 'Why,' he said, 'those poor kids in that bitter cold would break down and weep like a baby!' My God, it is awful! . . . You are taking a boy immediately out of high school. . . . He has scarcely begun to live, yet you are calling upon him to defend his country. . . . Let us not follow a discredited foreign philosophy that has . . . failed every time it has been tried."

EVANGELISM AND CHRISTIAN ACTION

Our general spiritual collapse is the most critical factor in the present national emergency; and until the spiritual need is met, the emergency will not be relieved. World disorder, political corruption, industrial conflict, race strife, moral decay, are many symptoms of one disease. The serious disorders of life weigh as a burden of conviction on all until "the spirit of man acheth unutterably" for the cleansing, healing Word of God. Dante's diagnosis of the evil of his generation is true also of our own: "Thou art sick in the affections."

This condition creates the most favorable evangelistic situation. The Church faces now its great opportunity. A lost world of sinful, disillusioned, fearful, suffering people must be reached at once with a call to repentance and the promise of salvation. But we must guard against the "revivalism" that ends in a fever of emotionalism as the satisfactory response to the invitation to "come to Jesus." There is the gravest danger that the pressure of God-sent conviction will be relieved by an emotional response that does not touch the ugly growth of evil social and political conditions that are the expression of man's godlessness. Revivalism that fails to deliver the evangelistic impulse and control to social action is the bitterest disappointment. It gives substance to the charge that "religion is the opiate of the people." It is a fig tree bearing leaves but no fruit. Evangelism is authentic only when it issues in conversion that yields a life of filial obedience to God and loving devotion to Christ as Lord. To "come to Jesus" in this sense is the beginning of life—a life that requires industry in study and prayer, courage in action, and confers the blessedness promised those who hear the Word of God and keep it. Men must again be called and trained as "followers of the Way."

—*Paul Newton Poling.*

NEW LEADERS ATTACK OLD PATTERNS OF SEGREGATION

By **J. OSCAR LEE, D.D.,** ***Executive Director, Department of Racial and Cultural Relations, Division of Christian Life and Work, National Council of Churches.***

ONE of the most significant developments in Protestantism is the growing interest in the practice of Christian brotherhood in churches, Church-related institutions, and in the community. For the past five or six years Church leaders have put forth intensified efforts to work for "a nonsegregated Church and a nonsegregated society." Rev. William H. McConaghy, formerly Director of the Institute on Racial and Cultural Relations of the Presbyterian Church, U.S.A., has stated that idea in these words: "We are hoping that we can use our influence as Christian men and women through our churches to the end that our American society will really practice the high precepts . . . of equality of opportunity for all people of this country, regardless of their nationality, regardless of their creed or their race."

This high ideal has caught the imagination of people across the Church, and they have been seeking practical ways to achieve it. Many have realized that they need special preparation for the task, and have welcomed the leadership training provided by the Institute on Racial and Cultural Relations.

The leader in the field of racial and cultural relations must understand the pattern of segregation as it is related to housing, employment, public services and facilities, and every other aspect of the life of the community. He must develop competence in the methods that can be employed to deal creatively with the situations and problems caused by segregation. The Church leader has an additional and distinctive responsibility. He must understand the relevance of the Christian faith to these problems and commit himself to using the resources of his faith in solving them. Christianity is concerned with every aspect of human life and seeks to bring all of life under the judgment of God and the Christian conscience. The Christian leader must learn to be guided by this basic principle—and to shape all action accordingly. It influences every aspect of his knowledge and skill.

How the Institutes Began

Intensive leadership training that dealt with these several approaches to the problem was initially sponsored by the Institute on Racial and Cultural Relations of the Division of Social Education and Action of the Board of Christian Education of the Presbyterian Church, U.S.A. The Presbyterian churchmen who attended these sessions were so convinced of their value that they wanted to share the experience with people of other Church groups.

An approach was made to the other denominations through the Department of Race Relations of the Federal Council of Churches, and the Interdenominational Committee on Co-operative Work in Race Relations was organized to plan and promote leadership training on an inter-Church basis. The first annual interdenominational institute was held at Lincoln University in Chester County, Pennsylvania, for a period of four days in August, 1949. The Presbyterian Church, U.S.A., offered special financial assistance to underwrite the institute for 1949 and 1950. The Department of Race Relations of the National Council also allocated funds for the project, and is continuing some financial aid in the current year for the three interdenominational institutes.

The first interdenominational project offered an intensive period of leadership training for fifty persons in 1949. The experiment launched a program that is assuming national proportions. In 1950 two institutes were conducted, one at Lincoln University, Pennsylvania, and one at Eden Seminary, Webster Groves, Missouri. The Congregational Christian Churches gave the extra financial assistance necessary to underwrite the school at Eden. The two schools afforded leadership training for 132 Church leaders, who represented 14 denominations and 4 Church councils. These persons came from 28 states, the District of Columbia, and Hawaii. They included youth, adults, church school teachers, young people's leaders, ministers, church executives; administrators of Church-related institutions such as colleges, hospitals, homes, and community centers; and representatives of churchwomen's organizations.

In 1951, three institutes will be held: at Lincoln University, Eden Seminary, and Menucha Conference Grounds near Portland, Oregon. The Congregational Christian Churches will continue the financial assistance that makes possible the project at Eden Seminary, and the Methodist Church is assuming the major responsibility for the one at Menucha Conference Grounds.

Denominational leaders in race relations will work with the Interdenominational Committee in the leadership of the institutes. Rev. William H. McConaghy, minister of the First

Presbyterian Church of Syracuse, New York, will be Dean of the Institute at Lincoln University. Rev. Galen R. Weaver, of the Race Relations Department of the American Missionary Association of the Congregational Christian Churches, will serve as Dean of the Institute at Eden Seminary. And Miss Thelma Stevens, Executive Secretary of the Department of Christian Social Relations of the Women's Division of Christian Service of the Methodist Church, will be Dean of the Oregon Institute.

Program Based on Local Church Needs

The folder announcing the institutes gives a concise statement of purpose and program: "The institutes seek to serve the practical needs of the Protestant Churches as they move toward the realization of the nonsegregated Church in a nonsegregated society. Through the use of worship, lectures, case studies, panel discussion, visual aids, recreation, field trips, study groups, and dynamic leadership, the institutes will serve as laboratories in practical Christian brotherhood. Knowledge will be gained of methods and techniques that can be used in the local community for developing inclusive churches and Church-related institutions."

Each institute provides every opportunity for delegates to secure specific help with their particular problems. Leaders and delegates work together in shaping the course of events and content at the institutes. The Interdenominational Committee on Co-operative Work in Race Relations outlines the broad aspects of the program. The major program areas in 1950, for example, were "Case Studies of Efforts Toward Racial Inclusiveness in Local Churches and Church-related Institutions" and "Methods of Achieving Equal Opportunities and Integration in the Community." The committee tentatively decides on areas that should be considered and shares this information with the leaders and the prospective delegates. The prospective delegates are requested to state, on a sheet provided for this purpose, the major racial and cultural problems that confront them in their local communities. This material is used to modify the program to meet the needs of those who will attend.

The opening session of the institute continues this process of locating problems. The opportunity to share problems with an interested group appears to create a sense of belonging. Also at this session a steering committee is elected which works with the dean and the Interdenominational Committee on Co-operative Work in Race Relations in guiding the course of the institute.

A variety of techniques are employed to deal with the problems considered at the institutes. There are general group discussions, small group conferences, as well as individual consultation with the leaders. Socio-drama or role-playing is also employed to present a problem situation with vividness and realism and to stimulate group thinking about possible solutions. Both delegates and leaders participate in evaluating the training methods and the discussion process. Recorders are appointed for each session. Their records aid in the evaluation proceedings and provide a written summary at the end of the institutes. Also, each institute has a leader who acts as observer-critic at each session. In addition to possessing a knowledge of the field of racial and cultural relations, this person has technical competence in the various methods employed to deal with the problems. He is responsible for getting the evaluations of individual participants, and of the group, and he presents from time to time a summary of their comments to the entire institute.

Putting Institute Training to Work

The question is often asked, "How can the Churches use the leadership abilities of those who have attended the institutes?" This is a legitimate question and an important one. It can be answered best by the comments of persons who have attended.

A schoolteacher in a large Eastern city writes: "I have served . . . on a committee that is about to present a new program of democratic classroom procedure to the teachers of our community. I would not have attempted this job if it had not been for a conscience made sensitive by the institute."

A housewife who returned to her home in a city in Oklahoma and became active in several church and community organizations concerned about combatting racial prejudice reports this incident: "Once I gave a talk . . . based on the booklet *Races of Mankind*. The richest man in the club asked me to dictate my talk to his stenographer. Later, when he sponsored a big . . . banquet, he insisted that Negro boys and girls be served with the whites or the whole thing would be canceled."

From a New England town comes the report: "We have an active social action committee in our church. . . . I have appeared before various organizations in this area to present many of the aims . . . of the institute program."

A minister in a Midwestern state writes: "Since attending the institute I have had the privilege of working with the P.T.A. as chairman of the West District. It is encouraging to find that . . . parents and teachers are making every effort to co-operate in interracial understanding and mutual achievement . . . . A good many parents are members of 'Employment Opportunity,' a group that has done much in recent months to further fair employment practices." His report also gives five instances of new employment opportunities that were opened to members of racial minorities.

A minister in a Far Western state has stated: "Since my return home . . . I have had the privilege of reporting our work . . . before the Synod of . . . , the Presbyterial Society, and the Presbytery of . . . . I will continue as chairman of social education and action of our presbytery until 1952."

A church worker in Massachusetts writes: "In the larger field . . . in our denominational work, there is an active interracial group of which I am a member meeting regularly for the avowed purpose of bringing about concrete ways in which we as Christians can aid in such matters as better housing, hotel accommodations, and employment opportunities for all races."

A minister on Long Island reports: "The net result . . . was that I came back to my church convinced that prejudice was primarily a religious problem and that if I could get my people to view it in light of their Christian faith, we would be ready for the first step in making ours an inclusive church. . . . My labor had to be . . . concentrated on my church. Here we have developed an inclusive congregation on a limited scale. The number of Negro members grows each time we receive new members. However, this is only the first step. . . . Our Sunday school has become practically a community organization. About 60 per cent are Negroes, whereas in our congregation only 5 per cent are Negroes."

A church worker in a small Missouri town reports that several Negro families living close to the church were visited in a canvass for Sunday school pupils, and as a result she writes: "We now have six Negro children enrolled in our Sunday school."

In conclusion, two points seem to stand out in the post-institute reports. First, almost without exception mention has been made of the spiritual lift that comes from participating in a racially inclusive fellowship of persons committed to the realization of Christian brotherhood. Secondly, one is impressed with the high proportion of institute alumni who are endeavoring to translate what they have learned into action in their own communities.

The UN Security Council has named Dr. Frank P. Graham UN mediator in the dispute between India and Pakistan over Kashmir. Previously he had served on the UN Good Offices Committee that helped to secure Indonesia her independence. Dr. Graham was proposed by the United States and Britain, the sponsors of the resolution passed in March by the Security Council that called for new efforts to achieve a plebiscite in the state. Dr. Graham is instructed to go to the scene of the dispute and attempt to get both countries to agree to mediation and to demilitarization.

LET'S FACE FACTS:

Regimentation Is Not Democracy

THE Army, and various groups that consistently work with it, are pressing Congress to adopt some kind of universal compulsory military service for all American youth. They are not asking for emergency legislation, but for a permanent system of militarism, to remain in force indefinitely.[1] This, they say, is the "democratic" way, because it would require every citizen to "serve his country." Before Americans agree, however, they should test this idea of democracy against the indispensable democratic ingredients of the free citizen with a free conscience, free labor, and the protection of minority rights and opinions.

Universality Is Not Democracy

There is a notion that forcing a man to do something against his will somehow becomes democratic if only you force every man to do the same thing. Is that true? Is slavery democratic if a whole race is enslaved instead of only a few individuals? Or prison? Or a labor camp? Were Hitler's conscripted armies a sign of democracy in action? Are the uniformed legions of Russia proof that the Soviet Union really is a democracy?

A democracy may decide that an emergency demands compulsory military service for several millions of its citizens, but it decides that reluctantly, with the realization that it is suspending democracy for these men for a while. For the democratic nation is built on the idea of voluntary participation: the citizen who serves his country and his community because he wants to. This is the strength of democracy: the one supremely noble thought that set it apart from the dynasties and dictators and made America a beacon to freedom-loving men everywhere.

Officer Caste Denies Equality

Armies always resist vigorously any attempt to wipe out the rigid caste distinctions between officers and "enlisted men." Military men justify the refusal of officers to mingle with their men on a plane of equality with the argument that rigid discipline demands the maintenance of the "superior-inferior" classifications. Whether or not this is the case, such a caste system, with its special privileges, is the reverse of the ideal embodied in the words, "All men are created equal." In the early days of America, many of the strongest pioneers who came here from the Old World were men trying to get away from the countries dominated by strutting, arrogant officers whose prestige and authority had grown out of a system of compulsory military service. To establish such a system now, as permanent legislation, is to betray one of man's best and greatest dreams: freedom from military domination.

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[1] It is important to remember that UMS is not required by the present tension: its sponsors simply believe that the psychology of the times is right for passage. A Selective Service Act is completely adequate to raise however large armed forces, in whatever age groups, Congress deems necessary. But Selective Service is an "emergency" law and the Army wants permanent militarization.

Subservience, Not Freedom

Democracy says that the citizens of a country are free men, capable of governing themselves and entitled to do so. How does this compare with the conscripted soldier? The first thing he must learn is to obey orders. He must obey them whether they are right or wrong; whether he agrees with them or not; whether the man who gives them knows less than the soldier himself, or more; whether or not the obvious result of obedience will be immediate, and useless, death. Is this kind of democratic training to be given, in peacetime, to boys in their formative years, just out of high school? How can we expect freedom to flourish after two or three generations of indoctrinating every man—and perhaps woman—with the idea that a general must be obeyed simply because he is a general?

Civil Rights Suspended

The free citizen of a democracy needs to learn the rights of democracy—the rights he has and the rights he defends for his fellow citizens. If he approves or disapproves a piece of legislation, he can write to his Congressman about it, or call on him. A soldier can't, unless the Department of Defense approves. If a civilian is accused of a crime, he has the right to trial by a jury of his equals, open to the public, knowing the charges against him and facing his accuser. In the Army, he is tried by a court-martial dominated by officers, usually closed to the public, and subject to the whims of the presiding officer. To expose every young American to two or three years of an atmosphere in which this is "correct" is to endanger his belief in democracy, breed in him a contempt for dissenters, and weaken his faith in any means but force for the solving of conflicts. This is not defending democracy, but tearing it down!

Copies of the pamphlet *Defense—Peace—A Strong America—A Better World*, containing well-documented studies of the effects of our defense program on health, education, living standards, the national economy, and our natural resources, can be obtained from Public Affairs Institute, 312 Pennsylvania Avenue, S.E., Washington 3, D.C. Single copies, 25 cents. Available in quantity order at 30 per cent discount.

Sanctuary

THE CHURCH

"City of God, how broad and far Outspread thy walls sublime!
How true thy chartered freemen are Of every age and clime.
How gleam thy watch fires through the night With never-fainting ray!
How rise thy towers, serene and bright, To meet the dawning day!"
—*Samuel Johnson.*

Invocation:

O God, our Heavenly Father, we seek thy presence. We draw near to thee in spirit and in truth to worship thee. We come in humility and repentance, for the contrite heart is thy only dwelling. We come in the name and spirit of our Lord, seeking to make our wills one with thine own. Reveal thyself to us, illumine our minds with thy wisdom, fill our hearts with thy love, that we may become thy children. Amen.

Hymn: "The Church's One Foundation."

Litany:

From *The Servant in the House*, by Charles Rann Kennedy:

Bishop: Now! Tell me about your church.

Manson: I am afraid you may not consider it an altogether substantial concern. It has to be seen in a certain way, under certain conditions. Some people never see it at all. You must understand, this is no dead pile of stones and unmeaning timber. It is a living thing.

Bishop: Numberless millions!

Manson: When you enter it you hear a sound—a sound as of some mighty poem chanted. Listen long enough, and you will learn that it is made up of the beating of human hearts, of the nameless music of men's souls—that is, if you have ears. If you have eyes, you will presently see the church itself—a looming mystery of many shapes and shadows, leaping sheer from floor to dome. The work of no ordinary builder!

Bishop: On the security of one man's name!

Manson: The pillars of it go up like the brawny trunks of heroes: the sweet human flesh of men and women is moulded about its bulwarks, strong, impregnable: the faces of little children laugh out from every corner-stone: the terrible spans and arches of it are joined hands of comrades; and up in the heights and spaces there are inscribed the numberless musings of all the dreamers of the world. It is yet building—building and built upon. Sometimes the work goes forward in deep darkness; sometimes in blinding light; now beneath the burden of unutterable anguish; now to the tune of great laughter and heroic shoutings like the cry of thunder. Sometimes, in the silence of the nighttime, one may hear the tiny hammerings of the comrades at work up in the dome—the comrades that have climbed ahead.

Meditation:

The Church is the Body of Christ. Churches, however, are too often the work of men. To be true disciples of Christ we must understand the distinction. It is our weakness, as churchmen, to turn our official Church meetings into mutual admiration societies. We praise the Church, we praise each other, we praise the Lord—and go our way to continue doing just as we have been doing in years past. Matthew Arnold said that "men cannot do without Christianity and they cannot do with it as it is." Men cannot do without the Church because it is the channel through which the Holy Spirit comes upon them, because it is the fellowship of those who love and serve Christ. But men, at their best, cannot do with the Church as it is because its witness is weak and inconsistent. Men do not associate the Church today with the flaming word of truth and the invincible force of righteousness, but rather, as someone has said, "with unattractive services, tedious homilies, the smell of hymnbooks, the petty round of ecclesiastical functions, the collection plate, an oppression due to lack of oxygen, and memories of Sunday school." Tolstoy said, "The Christian churches and Christianity have nothing in common save in name: they are utterly hostile opposites." We understand that Tolstoy was looking at the old Russian Orthodox Church, but the statement makes us uneasy when we look at our own Church.

We who love the Church, and who try to serve Christ to the best of our ability through the Church, know that these harsh criticisms are not altogether true; and we know, too, that they are not altogether groundless. Our failure may be due in part to the common mistake of making religion our god instead of making God our religion, as T. H. Green has put it. But in the main, our failures are due simply to our neglect to practice what God has taught us and commanded us to do.

The Church, with its message, is desperately needed in our time—"to serve the present age, its calling to fulfill." The Church must labor as the servants of Nehemiah labored in rebuilding the walls of Jerusalem—some with weapons of defense, to resist and overcome the evils of war, corruption, liquor, vice, and stealing. And some with tools for building the walls—to do the constructive things that need to be done: to do justly and see that men are justly treated, to be a friend to man. We need a wisdom higher than the wisdom of men, and this wisdom can come to us only as we open our minds and hearts to the Holy Spirit. The Church can, if it will, in all humility and sincerity practice the religion of Jesus as well as proclaim it.

Prayer:

"O God, we pray for thy Church, which is set today amid the perplexities of a changing order, and face to face with a great new task. . . . Grant her a new birth, though it be with the travail of repentance and humiliation. Bestow upon her a more imperious responsiveness to duty, a swifter compassion with suffering, and an utter loyalty to the will of God. Put upon her lips the ancient gospel of her Lord. Help her to proclaim boldly the coming of the kingdom of God and the doom of all that resist it. Fill her with the prophets' scorn of tyranny, and with a Christlike tenderness for the heavy-laden and down-trodden. Give her faith to espouse the cause of the people, and in their hands that grope after freedom and light to recognize the bleeding hands of the Christ. Bid her cease from seeking her own life, lest she lose it. Make her valiant to give up her life to humanity, that like her crucified Lord she may mount the path of the cross to a higher glory."

—*Prepared by Dr. John R. Williams, pastor, First Presbyterian Church, Wooster, Ohio.*

CHRISTIAN *Action*

CHRISTIANS AND POLITICS

A pilot experiment in training for Christian citizenship, "A Practical School of Politics," was launched in January by the Philadelphia Council of Churches for church members in the city's 22d ward. The purpose of the project was "to improve government by mobilizing church people into political action groups and to encourage some to seek political posts and public office."

Each of the eighty churches in the northern section of the city was invited to send delegates, and more than 300 enthusiastic churchmen participated in each of the meetings. They discussed their constitutional rights and responsibilities, the methods by which political parties get their power, where politicians come from, and how churchmen help to choose them.

As a result of the "school," the churches of the area have organized a tripartite organization made up of: (1) the Christian Assembly for Political Information and Action, composed of two delegates from churches with fewer than 500 members, and four delegates from each of the larger churches; (2) an executive committee composed of one member from each of the main denominations or other religious bodies interested in the movement; (3) parish groups to be organized in each church by the Assembly delegates.

The Assembly meets monthly and is primarily interested in candidates and issues on the local community level. It will also aid parish groups in their programs of education and action. It will collect and disseminate information on public officials, candidates for office, and issues of concern to churchmen.

Germantown Courier, a local newspaper, made this discerning editorial comment:

"The apparent assumption behind the program is that the practicing Christian should adopt a distinctly Christian approach to politics instead of living as a Christian in other spheres and as a secularist in the political sphere, as is the prevailing practice. The intimation that there are specific Christian 'political responsibilities' also suggests that an effort will be made to formulate a code of Christian political behavior.

"If such is the intent of the program, it is a wonderful and radical effort which, if widely applied, could revolutionize the whole realm of politics. If everyone in this country who believes himself a Christian were to apply the ethics of Christianity to his political responsibilities, there would follow such an upheaval in the political sphere as to cause all our deceased Presidents to spin in their graves forty days and forty nights, to say nothing of what would happen to the Hagues and Pendergasts and Crumps and the Philadelphia Republican machine.

"The impact of Christianity on politics would be especially revolutionary because politics is undoubtedly the least Christianized of our respectable pursuits, and not a little less Christian than some of our disreputable ones. . . . It would be enough—more than enough—if our churches could find a way of getting their members to find and choose the most Christian political paths, in their election of leaders, selection of policies, and personal political conduct. If the experiment begun here could induce only that degree of Christian political responsibility, it would accomplish wonders."

FLORIDA CHURCHES CONDEMN THE KU KLUX KLAN

The Ku Klux Klan has been seeking membership in the state of Florida, appealing for support on the ground that it represents "all native-born, white, Gentile, Protestants of the Christian faith who are citizens of the United States." Since the Florida Council of Churches is composed of representatives of Protestant Christian Churches, whose members fit the description of those to whom the Klan is seeking to appeal, the Council, upon recommendation of the Commission of Christian Social Relations, declared its condemnation of the Ku Klux Klan as presently composed, on several grounds.

1. "By its published works, the Klan seeks to create racial tensions and emphasize religious differences unnecessarily.

2. "Its record stands as the haven or cover for groups who take the law into their own hands, without seeking the proper recourse of the police and the courts. We believe such procedure as the Klan has repeatedly taken to be unwise, unnecessary, un-American, and unchristian. Whether the Klan is guilty of every violation of lawful procedures laid to its charge or not is beside the point. Its secrecy and the use of its robes (by irresponsible groups) condemns the whole.

3. "It makes irresponsible charges of wrongdoing without presenting evidence, thus damaging persons, property, and reputations without the protection of public accusations, testimony before lawful courts, and proper judgment. This policy leads to the further weakening of respect for law, and is a denial of the American right to trial by a jury of one's peers.

4. "It accepts as fact that which is at best rumor, and, at worst, malicious gossip, and publishes condemnation or seeks to punish without hearing or allowing any defense."

The Council of Churches also called on its member Churches to express wholehearted condemnation of these practices and urged "the members of Christian churches to refuse to join or support any organization which engages in such un-American and unchristian activities.

"We remind our people that the profession of noble ideals does not justify evil practices. We commend cities that have ordinances forbidding Klan parades or gatherings and cross-burning. We urge enforcement of law and speed of justice through the courts to remove the cause of Klan action."

The Council's Commission on Christian Social Relations is planning to publish a *Legislative Newsletter* reporting bills before the state legislature of particular interest to churchmen. The newsletter will not attempt to support or oppose specific measures, and the individual member Churches receiving the information may take whatever action they wish.

FARM FAMILIES PLANT FOR PEACE

The Christian Rural Overseas Program, better known as CROP, has set a national goal of 1,400 carloads of foodstuff for collection on America's farms in the 1951 harvest appeal and shipment overseas to feed hungry people in other lands.

This year's appeal will be nation-wide, and plans have been made to give all forty-eight states an opportunity to contribute relief in kind to the appeal.

Since the organization's inception in August, 1947, $12,300,000 worth of foodstuff has been contributed in America for distribution abroad in church-sponsored feeding projects. CROP collects friendship food in carload lots, and this figure represents 6,150 boxcars of foodstuff, including Government-donated surplus farm commodities, which were made available to CROP and were handled in this country at the expense of CROP. The Government, through ECA, pays freight charges for all CROP commodities shipped to Marshall Plan countries.

CROP collects exportable farm produce during the harvest appeal. During the planting season, CROP operates a Friendship Acres program, patterned similarly on the Lord's Acre movement, in which farm people and their children set aside a farm project for CROP, to contribute it at harvesttime.

LOYALTY ISSUE IN PENNSYLVANIA

Churchmen, including prominent Presbyterian laymen and civic groups in Pennsylvania, have been fighting the enactment of the Pechan political test oath bill (Senate Bill 27), which would require every person in the employ of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania or any political division of the state and employees of state-aided colleges and schools to take an oath of loyalty or face immediate dismissal. The bill would also empower the attorney general to determine what organizations or groups have subversive influence.

Despite a storm of protest from lawyers, teachers, civic leaders, and churchmen, the state Senate has already passed the bill by a vote of 42 to 7.

The Senate refused to hold public hearings although requests had come from such leaders as former Supreme Court Justice Owen Roberts, dean of the University of Pennsylvania Law School, scores of the Commonwealth's best educators, and members of the Society of Friends.

Ralph W. Page, columnist in the Philadelphia *Evening Bulletin,* has written: "The absurdity of this method has been repeatedly emphasized by J. Edgar Hoover, the head of the FBI. He points out that while innumerable fiercely loyal outstanding citizens resent and will not brook what they consider the insulting innuendo of these oaths, no genuine Communist would hesitate for a minute to swear to a library of lies.

"A simple oath to uphold the Constitution, such as the President takes, would not be so objectionable. Even this would entail a vast amount of superfluous clerical work and annoyance, and probably meet a lot of controversy.

"But this bill requires all this army of citizens to swear that they do not belong to, and will not join any, 'subversive organization.' And the attorney general of the state is to name these.

"There are elements here that smack of tyranny. Communists sneak into many very worthy causes which include myriads of public-spirited members. It creates the greatest indignation when these folk find themselves branded as traitors. Moreover, independent free sons of the pioneers will not readily accept the ukase of the attorney general, or anybody else."

George Wharton Pepper has written the Governor: "If Senate Bill 27 becomes law, two consequences are certain to follow. One is that every Communist to whom the statute is intended to apply will unhesitatingly take the prescribed oath and proceed with his subversive activities just as before. *The other consequence is that people who, like me, are devoted heart and soul to our American constitutional system and who therefore value the freedoms which Communism would destroy, will for that very reason refuse to take the oath lest its vague provisions be so construed as to limit their own liberty to think and act as free American citizens.*

"Thus the statute will not injuriously affect those at whom it is aimed and will inevitably affect a substantial number of loyal and useful American citizens. Any statute which insures such results stands self-condemned both as unwise legislation and as a serious menace to constitutional liberty.

"If I were in the legislature, I should unhesitatingly vote against the measure and cheerfully take whatever misguided criticism my vote would excite."

The Division of Social Education and Action has transmitted the pronouncements of General Assembly of 1947 and 1950 related to civil liberties to the governor of the Commonwealth and has alerted the synod executives to the problem. Letters have been sent from the Presbyterian synod office to each Presbyterian churchman of social education and action, suggesting that the churchmen write letters of protest or get the people within their presbyteries to do so immediately. On April 10, the Presbytery of Philadelphia adopted the following resolution:

"In the light of that threat which is presently being exerted upon our basic freedoms as guaranteed by and in the Constitution of the United States of America, the Presbytery of Philadelphia hereby urges that as a whole and as individuals the entire citizenry of this nation proudly take occasion to reaffirm its allegiance to the duly constituted government of the United States, but the same Presbytery of Philadelphia hereby takes strong exception to that bill, which is Number 27 and which at this date (April 10, 1951) stands in committee in the General Assembly of this Commonwealth and which is popularly called the Pechan Bill, on the grounds that it vests excessive arbitrary power in the person of the Attorney General of Pennsylvania without providing for the accused's normal recourse to our established processes of law in and through the courts and thereby opened the way for the accused's indiscriminate and irresponsible contamination through guilt by association only."

As we go to press the bill stands at the House Committee on State Government and strong efforts are being made to get the House to adopt the measure without public hearings or committee debate.

Other states are facing the same results of hysteria and misguided efforts to safeguard the security of our nation by adopting similar repressive loyalty requirements.

UNION LOSES IN SOUTHERN TEXTILE MILLS

A *New York Times* release of March 4 reports that a subcommittee of the Senate Labor and Public Welfare Committee has found that self-organization and collective bargaining are steadily losing ground in the Southern textile industry because of employer campaigns.

"Much of this campaign is being conducted in shocking violation of the [Taft-Hartley] Labor Management Relations Act, and the National Labor Relations Board appears to be powerless to cope with the situation," a report of the subcommittee majority said.

"The rights of workers to self-organization and collective bargaining are guaranteed by Federal law, and yet thousands of workers in the Southern textile industry who have sought the protection of the law have failed to obtain it.

"The ability of Southern employers to avoid collective bargaining has afforded them a substantial competitive advantage over their Northern competitors through lower wages and substandard working conditions."

Membership in the textile C. I. O. union in the South had declined from 20 per cent of the textile employees to 15 per cent in the last few years.

In stopping union organizing campaigns, the report stated, "The employer will use some or all of the following methods:

"Surveillance of organizers and union adherents; propaganda through rumors, letters, news stories, advertisements, speeches to the employees; denial of free speech and assembly to the union; organization of the whole community for antiunion activity; labor espionage; discharge of union sympathizers; violence and gunplay; injunctions; the closing or moving of the mill; endless litigation before the National Labor Relations Board and the courts." Each of these methods was illustrated by examples in the report.

The subcommittee also said the "ponderous and snail-like pace" of the National Labor Relations Board in processing cases almost completely destroyed the effectiveness of administrative action. The time consumed in processing an unfair labor practice case from the filing of the charge to the board decision averaged 480 days.

The report contained five case studies with recommendations in each case. The subcommittee would have Congress inhibit the use of the National Guard and of state injunctions in labor disputes; pass legislation to prevent and punish labor espionage; repeal the so-called "free speech" provision of the Taft-Hartley Act, and make a number of other changes in that law.

Citizenship and Legislation

Universal Military Service and Training—The combination Draft-UMST bill is now being considered by a conference committee of the Senate and House. As we go to press, the final form of this legislation is still in doubt. Under the Senate bill, UMT is authorized, but under the House bill a commission is to be set up to draw up a plan providing for UMT. This plan would then have to be approved by the Armed Services committees and presented to the Congress for adoption or disapproval.

The House bill lowers the draft age to 18½, while the Senate bill permits drafting at 18, and the House bill increases the period of draft service from 21 to 26 months, while the Senate bill provides only 24 months. The Senate bill is permanent legislation. Under the House bill no one could be inducted into the service after July 1, 1954 (except persons deferred who remain liable until they are 35 years old), unless the law is extended.

Alaska and Hawaii Statehood—These bills have been approved and reported out by the Senate Interior and Insular Affairs Committee and are awaiting action by the full Senate. In the House the bills are still in committee.

Grain for India—At this writing, the House Foreign Affairs Committee has tentatively approved a new bill which would authorize the Administration to send up to $190 millions' worth of relief wheat to India on a loan rather than grant basis. India could repay either in dollars or strategic goods for this country's defense stockpiling program. The measure does not provide for any specific tonnage of grain. The President originally asked for at least one million tons, possibly two. The Senate Foreign Relations Committee has approved a measure which makes available two million tons of food grains on a half-grant, half-loan basis. Floor action was expected in the Senate around April 30. The original deadline set for the shipments was April 1. The delay in the House has been due to the fact that the Rules Committee refused to "clear" the bill providing for an outright grant of the grain.

Reciprocal Trade Program—The Senate Finance Committee has completed hearings on this bill and is now meeting in executive session to decide on its exact provisions. It is thought that the final form of the Senate measure will be much like the bill passed by the House, which contained four restrictive amendments. These were set forth in the April issue of SOCIAL PROGRESS.

President's Commission on Migratory Labor—This commission submitted its report to the President early in April. In a statement upon its release the President said: "The report contains a careful and painstaking collection of the basic facts about social, economic, health, and educational conditions among migratory workers. It analyzes in detail the forces that have caused increasing use of migrants, particularly foreign workers, in agriculture. It deals systematically with basic public policy issues." The report is available for 75 cents from the Superintendent of Documents, Washington 25, D.C. The plight of migrant workers in all parts of the country is a problem for concerned Christians.

Defense Housing and Community Facilities—This bill as originally introduced in both Houses provided for $3 billions. It passed the Senate early in April after having been cut to $1.6 billions. As passed by the Senate the main provision authorizes $1.5 billions in Federal mortgage insurance of privately built housing in critical defense areas. It also provides $50 millions for Federal construction of homes in "isolated or relatively isolated" areas where private industry declines to build; $60 millions for Federal aid to communities for housing facilities and services; $15 millions in loans for prefabricated housing; and $10 millions for Federal acquisition of housing sites. The House has not yet acted on this measure, but it was reported out of committee with the major provisions intact though it contains some restrictive amendments. It is expected to encounter stiff opposition when it reaches the floor.

Displaced Persons—A bill proposing a six-month extension of the Displaced Persons program to December 31, 1951, with no increase in the number of authorizations for admission and no extension of the term of office of the D. P. Commission, has been reported out by the House Judiciary Committee. The necessity for the extension is set forth in the Committee's report (House Report 325, 82d Congress, 1st session) as follows:

"As of March 10, 1951, some 240,000 visas had been issued to Displaced Persons and refugees authorized to be admitted as immigrants under section 2 of the amended act. On that date the processing pipeline contained an estimated 60,000 additional visas, of which only some 25,000 will be issued by June 30, 1951. The remaining 35,000 estimated visas to mature from the present processing pipeline will not be issued by June 30, 1951.

"The committee believes that a six-month extension beyond June 30, 1951, will be necessary in order to complete the task of issuing the authorized number of visas under section 2 of the amended act.

"It is possible that with the assurances already filed by American sponsors and presently being processed, in addition to new assurances still to be added in the normal course of events, the number of visas that may be issued under section 2 of the amended act during the additional six-month period may total 40,000 instead of the 35,000 submitted as an estimate by the Displaced Persons Commission. The committee believes that should this six-month extension be granted, from 300,000 to 305,000 visas will have been issued to Displaced Persons and refugees under section 2 of the amended act, the United States thus making a significant contribution to the final solution of the resettlement program of European Displaced Persons and refugees."

TESTAMENT AND TEST OF BROTHERHOOD

By **HUGH L. KEENLEYSIDE,** ***Director-General, United Nations Technical Assistance Administration.***

THE technical assistance program of the United Nations is one of its most tangible testaments to the brotherhood of man. Its purpose is to strengthen the national economies and political independence of underdeveloped countries who seek aid in bettering their people's lives. It is based on the understanding that man's spirit is more receptive to the principle of loving his neighbor if his physical needs are not overwhelming him.

In a sense, the technical assistance program is also a test of our faith. For decades, missionaries have been carrying, to the peoples of the underdeveloped countries, the Word of God and the belief of Christians in a world community. These concepts offered hope. Now, with many of these areas in a state of ferment, their poverty-stricken peoples are looking to us for substantive evidence of our dedication to the Christian tenet of helping one another.

Peace was the main objective of the UN Charter, written in the sixth year of World War II. But immediately related to it is the common commitment of the Charter signatories to work for economic and social conditions in keeping with the dignity of man.

In offering his twenty-year peace program to the UN Assembly last year, the Secretary-General, Trygve Lie, put it this way: "The campaign to raise the standard of living must be fought on many fronts. Next to the preservation of peace, it is the greatest undertaking to which we have put our hands. It must succeed."

What Are Our Chances of Success?

The technical assistance covenant of mutual help became UN policy by the unanimous vote of the General Assembly of 1949. That decision expanded the work being done in the economic and social fields by the UN and the Specialized Agencies and directed it more sharply toward economic and social development.

To co-ordinate these projects of the UN, a Technical Assistance Board was created, thus co-ordinating the technical assistance program of these UN agencies—the World Health Organization (WHO), the Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO), the UN Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), the International Civil Aviation Organization (ICAO), the International Labor Organization (ILO), and the International Bank and the International Monetary Fund. Thus the international community of nations approached the problem of technical development in an integrated rather than piecemeal way. As a result, underdeveloped countries can now get help of an over-all nature. They can secure aid in fashioning plans for a generation's growth, and the help of experts in carrying out the development of these plans. And they can get training abroad for their own officials and experts, upon whom the long-run responsibilities will rest.

As an example of this global training program, Syed Nizamuddin, Deputy-Director of Technical Development in the Pakistan Ministry of Industry, was awarded a United Nations Fellowship, one of the seven hundred the UN hopes to allot this year. This Fellowship will enable him to study technical aspects of textile production in Great Britain and Switzerland, and, with the experience thus acquired, to assist his country in reaching its target of doubled textile production by using home-produced raw materials.

In describing the UN technical assistance program, one is immediately involved in a problem of semantics. It is a program for offering technical services. But it is not a program that prescribes a development formula for the underdeveloped countries.

Development is a process inherent in the culture of a people, and the development process must reflect the cultural past and developmental goals defined by those peoples themselves. Technical assistance cannot be given unless Governments ask for it. And no political strings may be attached to it when it is given.

To pay for this concerted attack on pestilence, ignorance, and low productivity, fifty-four countries have contributed the equivalent of more than twenty million dollars above the regular budgets of the UN and the Agencies. Six of the Agencies share in the fund this way:

FAO, 29%; WHO, 23%; the UN Technical Assistance Administration, 22%; ILO, 11%; UNESCO, 14%; and ICAO, 1%. The International Bank and the International Monetary Fund do their share of the work on their regular budgets.

Hundreds of requests for technical assistance flowed in from Governments during the first few months in which these voluntary contributions became substantially available. Cumulative reports have been made about how much has been done where, over periods of time. But to get a broad picture of the operation, as of this writing (late spring, 1951), let's swing around the globe with a camera.

We might start at the new UN Headquarters on the East River in New York. In one office of the TAA, a Selection Board is picking some of the seven hundred economic and social Fellows we hope to send on training missions this year. In another office, an expert is being interviewed for an assignment in Indonesia. A man of possible use in Colombia is waiting in an outside room.

About two hundred experts are already at work for the UN and Agencies in the twenty-four countries with whom agreements for aid are in operation. Recruiting is under way, not only in New York but at Agency headquarters in Rome, Paris, Geneva, Montreal, and Washington, for an additional 263 experts are needed to meet the agreements already on the board. And staffing the projects for 87 requests under negotiation will call for 289 more experts. When staff has been secured for the projects under negotiation as well as those already approved, the technical assistance program will be operating in forty-seven countries.

Where do these experts come from? you ask. From all over the world. There are twenty-one nationalities represented among the field experts of the TAA at this moment. The Specialized Agencies all recruit with the same idea of creating a genuinely world-representative technical corps.

Afghanistan

Let's turn our camera to some of the underdeveloped countries where these men and women work. First, Afghanistan, and let us note the diversity of nationalities of the TAA appointees! *

There we see a Resident Representative (American), appointed in this instance by the TAA, but serving all the participating organizations, as a chief of mission. Supporting the Resident Representative is an economist (Dutch), an oil drilling expert (Dutch), an oil geologist (Dutch), and a telecommunications expert (British). Also, because of special conditions in Afghanistan, there is a radio operator (British), an administrative officer (Cuban), and a secretary (American). An FAO specialist is helping to improve the breed and quality of the karakul output of Afghanistan since that prized fur is one of the country's main exports. And a cotton specialist is helping to increase local supplies of that vital commodity.

Colombia

Swerving the camera around to Latin America, we take a look at Colombia. There, too, a Resident Representative (French), appointed by the UN, is supervising for all Agencies. This man was lent by

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* Nationality data on the Specialized Agencies' personnel is not available here.

FAO. With him are specialists in agriculture and forestry, and a foot and mouth disease expert, also a taxation economist (Dutch), a tax administrator (British), a railway-rate specialist (Belgian), a public-utilities economist (Canadian), and an educator. Expected soon is a harbor terminal operator to assist in modernizing the handling of sea freight and the operation of coastal shipping, a most important phase of transportation for countries with underdeveloped interiors.

Haiti

From Colombia our camera moves to Haiti, where we find six specialists, including a Resident Representative (British), a soils expert (American), an irrigation expert, a statistician, and an expert in agricultural development, and a fisheries man. The last expert, interestingly enough, is assisting in the development of fish ponds, an ancient but efficient Chinese technique for increasing food supplies at minimum cost.

Libya

On to Africa, our camera focuses on Libya. There, twenty-one aids from four Agencies are assisting this embryonic state in the fields of foreign-trade economics (Swedish), electrical power production (Egyptian), social welfare (American), wool and wine production, irrigation, medical services, and the training of technicians for Government services which, as you know, the Libyans will shortly have to run for themselves. UNESCO is providing fifteen of the twenty-one international specialists for this latter job.

Indonesia

In Indonesia our camera would catch the beginnings of a multi-agency mission. The Resident Representative (Indian) already has with him a small industries specialist (American) and a secretary (Australian) from the TAA. UNESCO has an educator there and will add audio-visual experts, since the Indonesian Government is eager to bring its people abreast of its development hopes as rapidly as possible and is using mass mediums of communications extensively.

Across the equator to the north and a little westward, we find in Burma an exploratory unit headed by an Indonesian. Also a small-industries expert (Canadian) and a census statistician (Canadian), a national-income statistician (British), a chief-statistician (American), and a forestry-products expert from FAO.

Specific Diagnosis and Treatment

These stops on our tour all reveal mission-size operations, or at least teams of experts at work, reflecting progress toward the ideal of the integrated, balanced program, moving on all fronts to raise people's living standards. But to observe the most typical picture of technical aid one must see an individual expert doing a very specific task. In the British West Indies island of Saint Lucia, for example, an engineer (Icelandic) is studying with local scientists the feasibility of harnessing volcanic steam for making electricity. In Israel an ILO specialist is experimenting in employment-service organization; in Ceylon a fertilizer-manufacturing expert (Finnish) is developing ways to increase productivity of the land.

In the Philippines, where cottage weavers had lost both traditional raw materials and markets, a UN expert set up an experimental shop where cottage looms were adapted and improved, bringing work again to the weavers. Instead of inferior blankets and sarongs, they now turn out fifty-yard-wide-measure bolts of upholstering material for rattan furniture manufacturers, materials for ladies' handbags, decorative table mats, and the like.

In Greece, as in so many underdeveloped countries, rural folk have traditionally had too little to do because they were isolated from markets. Today our camera could unroll for us 1,000 miles of new roads built by these same villagers in the last eighteen months. This is a tremendous accomplishment for small, mountainous Greece. Now grapes, figs, and other products that never could reach market in a sellable condition on burro back arrive on carts and trucks. The farmers have an incentive now and their lives have been transformed from a bare subsistence to a cash economy.

A UN adviser helped the Government there to work out a community development plan which allowed these people to work on development projects of their own choosing, in their own free time, with their own materials. A slight incentive payment is made for the work and that is all the central Government does. The villagers work for the results—the road to market—not the pay. Several hundred thousand have worked on roads, waterworks, drainage, irrigation, and so on.

Wanted—an International Source of Capital

The international expert who comes to a country bringing the missing link of knowledge in a particular field frequently generates a whole cycle of economic activity. This impetus in itself is of a value far beyond the cost of the service. But of itself it cannot solve countrywide or regional developmental problems for great masses of people. To reap the full, long-range benefits of technical assistance there must be capital support for projects beyond capabilities of the countries receiving the aid.

The General Assembly is scheduled to work this fall on methods for meeting the costs of creating the underlying services and conditions on which developmental projects depend. Things like pumps for irrigation, agricultural machinery, new turbines, railroad equipment, food processing, or textile machinery, are profitable investments when they are added to environments of healthy and vocationally trained people, with economic transportation routes, and ready users of new power. Such investments can meet a banker's terms, and capital for them will be forthcoming from the International Bank of our UN family of agencies, or other national or private sources. But bringing an economy to this point requires investments that fall outside the definition of bankability. It is to the problem of devising an international source of capital for the basic needs that the Assembly will address itself this year.

Global Development Authority

In this context it is gratifying to officials of the TAA to have a United States advisory study group, appointed by President Truman and headed by Nelson Rockefeller, conclude that such a developmental authority must be created to give full effect to the work of the international technical assistance agencies. The Rockefeller report also points to the desirability of an increasing role for the international agencies because of their unique ability to meet the technical and cultural problems in a rational, global development process.

A working paper, prepared for a UN commission, also asks for the creation of an international development authority. The experts who wrote the report conclude that three billion dollars annually in international capital is needed for development on a scale large enough to overtake the problems of the underdeveloped areas. Like all UN documents in this field, it underlines the basic responsibility of the peoples of those areas for capital formation for their own needs. Indeed, the international three billion would have to be matched fivefold by domestic sources in the countries concerned, it says.

Clearly a large and sustained effort must be made. And public support—arrived at through intelligent analysis, in the democratic tradition—is the key to building this effort.

If we are to bring human personality to its full potential, we must help the peoples who have been the source of much of our spiritual heritage, to share the benefits of technological advance. Christians cannot be passive in this matter.

When we want apples from our own orchard, it is not enough to pray for them. We must also plant apple trees.

IT *IS* HAPPENING HERE

By **FRANK C. MARTICK,** ***Minister, Westminster Presbyterian Church, South Bend, Indiana.***

SOUTH BEND is an industrial city of some 115,000 people. It has grown relatively rapidly, and although it doesn't have slums that compare with those of the greater cities, it has some housing that is scarcely fit for human beings. And, as often happens, our 8,000 Negro residents get the worst of the housing deal through the operation of the laws of prejudice and the ghetto. But South Bend, like Indiana in general, is conservative and jealous of home rule, and does not take to new ideas easily.

Three years ago we formed a local Housing Authority, appointed by the mayor and the city council. Aside from temporary war housing we have not yet achieved any low-rent housing, either public or private. The Housing Authority is headed by a prominent attorney, an outstanding Christian churchman in the Evangelical and Reformed Church. Soon after his appointment, under his guidance the Authority bought up a slum area down by the depot and tracks known as "Maggies Court." But when they planned to build on this property, the mayor and others urged them to delay, thinking that perhaps some other plan ought to be evolved and the site turned into commercial property. There our low-rent housing stalemated.

Then last November, at their suggestion, the Housing Authority manager presented to the St. Joseph County Ministerial Association the case for two new federal housing projects—one in Maggies Court and another on the edge of town in the so-called Hungarian district. The Ministerial Association was asked for its support, and as the president I was authorized to appoint an enlarged executive committee to study the matter and then issue a statement.

OUR Ministerial Committee first met with the whole Housing Authority. Next we conferred with the local real-estate board and their representatives at a luncheon meeting. And there the battle began! Before the last fork was down, two real-estate men took the floor with tirades on Communism, socialism, and welfarism, and the charge that Federal low-rent housing was the opening wedge for all three! So far as they were concerned, they said, it was not a matter of self-interest alone, it was a matter of saving America from the inroads of the antichrist, and the ministers ought to repudiate Federal housing as they would Joe Stalin!

Under cross-examination the real-estate men admitted that the only public housing they would support would be for indigents on actual relief, and according to their records there were only four cases on the relief rolls. Obviously they did not know that our county welfare department pays the rent for some three hundred families. "Since the American pioneers wrought homes out of the wilderness with their bare hands, why can't the lazy loafers who want public housing?" one real-estate operator demanded to know.

When we pressed the case for the poor, and especially for our Negro friends, whose housing needs are desperate because real-estate companies will not rent or sell to Negroes, they countered with the remark that the only thing that mattered was upholding the American way. Furthermore, we ministers were treasonable in our ideas about housing. We got our living from the American way, and therefore if we didn't like things in South Bend, we had better go back to Russia. One deep and discerning soul on our committee ended the meeting with the comment that that was precisely what Hitler had said, and reminded the meeting that somewhere it is written that God came before country.

We went away remembering the real-estate lobby in Washington, and how when they lost there they said then they would fight public housing in every city and town.

WE MET next with the A.F.L. local council, which favored limited housing, but on a racial basis. We also met with the county council of the C.I.O. and presented the facts. They were immediately stirred to their usual vigorous action.

Then our committee prepared a statement that was marked with careful reserve and even recognition that there might be danger in too much Federal welfare at the local level; but we made it quite clear that we could not equate that danger with a few units of Federal housing here at South Bend. We favored a limited amount of distinctly low-rent Federal housing, and pointed out that it would be tragic to pay for public housing in taxes and let some other community get the twelve million dollars appropriated for public housing.

Our statement was released in December, but the storm did not break until the first of the year. At first we were conscious of hostility in attitude. Men we would meet would tell us how sorry they were that we sided with Communists and the C.I.O. We quietly held our peace and stood by our position.

Then tension grew in the outlying

project district known as Kemble Avenue, where realty interests maneuvered through other groups to stir up racial prejudice. Meetings of white property owners were held, "admission by ticket only," and no Negroes were given tickets! There were hues and cries about the devaluation of property—"You wouldn't want a Negro living next to you, would you?"

Some of our Hungarian Roman Catholic friends who had a large stake in Kemble Avenue were as silent as ghosts, and only one layman and one priest took up the cudgels for housing.

By this time the situation was positively sizzling! Names were called, reputations besmirched, and cries of "Communist" were hurled right and left.

Newspapers bristled with advertisements. Those by the opponents of public housing appealed baldly only to the cost or selfish viewpoint, and ignored the needs of people. Advertisements of the newly organized Citizens' Committee for Housing, which the ministers supported but didn't join, stressed the needs and hopeful values. "Increased taxes" was the battle cry of the real-estate interests who consistently followed a completely reactionary line. However, one of their group told me privately that his office was well aware of the need for rental housing every day in the week. "To say there was no need was a lie."

OUR Ministerial Committee reaffirmed its earlier statement in the middle of the battle, and more brickbats came down upon our heads, but we were not quite prepared to have our jobs threatened. The next move of the real-estate board was further proof of the effectiveness of Church opinion. A man was assigned to each minister and instructed to try to silence him.

One of the most beloved religious leaders of the city, extremely prominent in his own denomination, had several of his key officers forget all earlier affection and turn on him and threaten him. I was saved only by a consecrated and loving elder, since deceased, who told "the Gestapo" that this was a free country and his minister could speak freely his convictions, even though personally he didn't entirely agree. Financial threats were made against the Council of Churches, which some confused with the Ministerial Association. And John T. Flynn's book appeared more and more frequently to libel all fine, liberal Christian citizens. During all this I made freely available reprints of General Assembly pronouncements of 1947, 1948, and 1949 on housing. But the Church's stand was hysterically and scornfully brushed aside for the so-called "American way of life."

For weeks the air was tense, and some ministers really feared for their positions, but none broke faith or turned back on the action of the Association.

FINALLY the problem was considered at two city council meetings, some weeks apart. Booing, shoving crowds jammed the council rooms. Property owners carried signs and shouted imprecations. Courtesy was forgotten; all the rough elements of the mob spirit prevailed. Prejudice finally triumphed and the appeal to the selfish interests was victorious. So little of the discussion was built upon facts and the issue was tabled with a tie vote—four Republicans against Federal housing, four Democrats for it!

Clearly, racial prejudice was used behind the scenes to defeat the welfare of our citizens. Reason was discarded. Even the labor group at Studebaker's, noted throughout the nation for its progressivism, was not vocal, probably because race prejudice could split even labor's ranks too. But as one reflects, there is something more frightening at the heart of the situation. The loss of low-rent housing for our community is relatively insignificant beside the terrifying spectacle of people stirred by prejudice, fear, and self-interest. So skillfully did certain interests play upon these qualities of mass hysteria that calm reason fled. and concern for Christian social action was defeated. Indeed, a city was corrupted by one or two private groups. In South Bend we could see unmistakably the same reactionary hysteria that swept Hitler to power and destroyed Germany. The fellow townsman who told us to "go back to Russia" is a symbol of that power.

The Ministerial Association pleaded for only one issue, the needs of our citizens. It has suffered as have the members, but only by suffering will the Church make its witness. Once again, I think the Church was there!

A curriculum of graduate study in social and technical assistance will be offered by Haverford College in September to prepare qualified men and women to serve in the technical assistance programs of the United States and the United Nations.

The courses will emphasize training that integrates technological knowledge with social and religious insight and commitment. Required courses include case studies of assistance programs, human relations, contemporary cultures, world relations, modern foreign languages, as well as study of techniques of social work, administration, and special problems in engineering. All students will be required to enroll in a supervised work project in technical assistance.

This training follows Haverford's splendid tradition of preparing people for humanitarian service in times of national crises.

For information about admission requirements, tuition, and fellowships, write: Archibald MacIntosh, Vice-President, Haverford College, Haverford, Pa.

CHINA

By **JOHN K. FAIRBANK,** ***Professor of History at Harvard University and the author of*** **The United States and China.**

THERE are many interpretations of the Chinese Communist rise to power and most of them go to extremes. Some regard it as simply a Russian plot, overlooking its all-Chinese cast. Others see it as an unavoidable act of nature like an earthquake, neglecting the very human nature of history. Some say we helped Chiang Kai-shek too little, and some—rather few—protest that our error lay in helping him too much.

Amid all these confusing claims and considerations, military, economic, and political, we have neglected the realm of ethics. I believe our chief failure in dealing with the Communist revolution in China has been to underestimate the vigor of Chinese moral sentiment as the basis of patriotic effort and to pay too little attention to the morality of our own position in the eyes of the Chinese.

Aware of our own revulsion against Communist methods and doctrines, we have generally assumed that other sensible people would see through them too. Aware of our own generous good will toward China, we have assumed that it would shine through our aid programs, no matter how the aid was used. Yet today we are up against the fact that a significant proportion of Chinese Christians and Western-trained Chinese professors, the natural protagonists of Western ideals in China, have been heatedly

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Two informed observers of the revolutionary changes taking place in China today are presenting their opinions on United States foreign policy in the Orient to SOCIAL PROGRESS *readers. Professor John K. Fairbank's article appearing in this issue, points up the historical and cultural bases for the loss of American prestige and influence in China and the importance of a strategy that will speedily regain it. His findings are underscored by the recent report of The Board of Foreign Missions at the 163d General Assembly.*

Congressman Walter Judd has prepared a second article for the September issue of SOCIAL PROGRESS. *Because of his crowded schedule, he was unable to complete the revisions which he wished to include to make it current to meet the June deadline.*

denouncing our "aggression" in Korea and Formosa. We find ourselves most violently condemned in China, not only by the Communists but also by patriotic Chinese who have been close to our way of life. This is an unhappy denouement to a century of Sino-American friendship. How shall we account for it?

Why Did the Reds Rise to Power?

The quick and easy explanation is Communist propaganda and indoctrination. Communist lies are so big that they really constitute an entire realm of thought, beginning with Lenin's great half-truth that imperialism is the final phase of capitalism. In China the Malik view of the world now holds sway. The Chinese people are at present a "captive audience." If Mao Tse-tung can feed them the "facts," he can control the judgments they reach. This still does not explain, however, how so many Chinese have come to put their trust in Mao. What is the explanation of his rise to power?

On this point our counsels are discordant; yet it is plain that if the American public cannot agree on why we failed in China, we have little prospect of constructing an effective policy either toward China or for the rest of Asia.

The popular explanation among Republican political aspirants is to blame it on the Democrats. This is reminiscent of the old Chinese ritual which made the emperor in Peking responsible for drought, flood, famine, or other acts of nature anywhere in the empire. As used today by people who ought to know better, there is a slick element of self-flattery in blaming the revolution in China on the Administration in Washington. It assumes that we Americans can really call the tune if we want to, even among 475 million people in the inaccessible rice paddies of a subcontinent ten thousand miles away.

This theory that Mao Tse-tung's rise to power in China is somehow our fault in America appeals both to the Puritan conscience and to our view of ourselves as world arbiters, but it leaves Chiang Kai-shek out of account. After all, he came to power in Nanking during the Coolidge Administration. Since then the leadership of Japan, Korea, the Philippines, Indonesia, Burma, India, and Pakistan has seen cataclysmic changes amid two decades of violence and disaster. Hoover, Roosevelt, and Truman have occupied the White House. Chiang Kai-shek sat on top of the Chinese revolution as long as he could, fighting it with arms rather than reforms, but no amount of American aid could have kept him there forever.

The final word on the Generalissimo as a recipient of American aid and advice has long since been written by several score American specialists who were not political appointees and who included General George C. Marshall. Six hundred pages of their sober reports and appraisals were published as appendixes to the White Paper on China in August, 1949, and may still be obtained from the Superintendent of Documents for $3.00. Among them General Wedemeyer in his famous report of September, 1947, concluded that "the only working basis on which national Chinese resistance to Soviet aims can be revitalized is through the present corrupt, reactionary, and inefficient Chinese National Government." Wedemeyer recommended military aid "under the supervision of American advisers." Secretary of State Marshall, who had sought vainly for a year to advise Chiang Kai-shek, refused to take the risk involved in trying to save him with American military power. This was fortunate, indeed, for by 1947 Chiang was beyond saving. The explanation of his collapse, like the explanation of Chinese-Americanism today, must be found within the Chinese scene, in the realm of Chinese public opinion and its moral and ethical sentiments.

We Know Too Little of Asia

An ancient Chinese military maxim runs: "Know your own side. Know the other side. In a hundred battles you will win a hundred victories." With our European background, we know little of Asia or its ethical values. Today our greatest danger is that the Russians may capitalize on our ignorance.

The conditions of Chinese life are far outside our experience or even imagination; rice or millet without meat, shoes without leather, a board to sleep on, worms in the belly, and an age-old dislike of landlords and foreign invaders—all this has been the stuff of everyday experience among an intelligent people crowded in a hundred thousand villages across the face of the world's oldest country. In a modern world where there is hope of betterment, these conditions have been inevitably the wherewithal for revolution. When our missionaries and traders first stimulated the revolutionary process in the old Chinese empire by importing subversive Western ways a century ago, they represented a dominant Western society which had no need to understand the effete East. Today it is different. The spread of industry and nationalism, science and democracy, has turned the tables on us. Asia is changing faster than we are.

The Communist success story in China is now well known in outline: the methods of indoctrinating students who can mobilize peasants, the techniques of rent reduction and land redistribution, of village "liberation" and class reorganization, of personal conversion and guidance by self-criticism. Not many serious observers fell for the line that the

Chinese Communists were "mere agrarian reformers." They take pride in being Communists, but they use agrarian reform as a basis for power, just as they use Chinese patriotism. As yet no signs of Titoism have appeared. Nor should they be expected as long as the Stalinist dogma retains its appeal to Chinese idealism, and its moral respectability in Chinese public opinion.

This peculiar Chinese public opinion is a pervasive force which we have neglected to our own disaster. It is not expressed in editorials, in a country where the press is controlled and the people largely illiterate. But it led Chiang's armies to surrender, taking with them the American weapons that Mao's armies now use against us.

This public opinion is the force that bestows the traditional mandate of heaven upon the successful rebel in Chinese politics. It goes back to the beginning of Chinese history and is intimately bound up with the Chinese moral sense. It includes a healthy respect for military and police power, but not for them alone. In political life this force of opinion is seen in the acquiescence of the people in the government of the day. One might call it part of the "unwritten constitution" of the Chinese polity; and let us remember that the Chinese body politic is the oldest in the world.

In short, in the crowded life of China the attitude of the populace, their co-operation or avoidance of co-operation with the regime in power, has been the index of that regime's longevity. This attitude has not been expressed through political institutions like the elections and parliaments of the West, but it has been made evident through many centuries in the daily conduct of the people. Bad government, for example, invites corruption, which produces worse government. A regime whose leaders have lost public respect is soon knifed by its own bureaucracy, in which bad men drive out good. Community non-co-operation, well known to us in Chinese shopkeepers' boycotts, can spread to the whole nation.

The Russians or the Nazis may have been able to get results from a slave-and-police state, but the Chinese Communists are taking no chances. They rose to power by establishing within China greater moral prestige than the Kuomintang, and thus far they have worked hard to keep it—long hours, ascetic living, incorruptibility, and devotion to their cause. Their Communism, though genuine Marxism-Leninism of the Moscow orthodoxy, is operating in the shadow of twenty centuries of Confucianism. While no one expects China's dead past to reassert itself, one must still acknowledge that the Chinese way of life is distinctive and persistent. In dealing with the people neither we nor the Communists can disregard it.

Communism's Moral Prestige in China

It may seem paradoxical that a Communist system which uses slave labor and terror in East Europe and Russia can maintain a genuine moral prestige in China. Of course many millions in China oppose the new order. Newly "liberated" peasants find themselves taxed as never before. But let us remember that our own revolution of 1776 was carried through by the active one third among us. The inner core of the Chinese Communist Party, which now claims five million members, has been knit together and battle-tested over a generation. It is operating a coalition in which non-Communists actively participate. The broad extent of this active non-Communist collaboration among China's small literate elite is the index of Communism's ideological success and of our failure. These non-Communist intellectuals include scholars and administrators of international repute, men of integrity who defied Japan, spent the war years in the shanty towns of Free China's universities, and refused to be intimidated by Kuomintang police. They are not men easily bought or coerced. Their active collaboration seems due to several factors.

First, China is in a period of hope; the promises of the new order are still untarnished, as in the first years of Soviet Russia. *Secondly,* the period of Nationalist collapse is still fresh in memory—the inexorable inflation, the Kuomintang terror against intellectuals, the insecurity. Today the inflation has been suppressed, albeit by Draconian methods, and civil war is over. *Thirdly,* what one expects of any government in China is not what we would expect in America. Incorrupt officials are a blessing even if public services are few. Young Communist administrators can shine against a background of warlordism. *Fourthly,* while the Peking regime is far from thoroughly established over large areas of the South, where disaffection and unrest are reported on a large scale, the fact remains that for the patriot who wants to save his country there is no rival channel for his effort, no competitor to Mao as a leader, no one else with his prestige.

What is this moral prestige? Mao has it not merely because he fought for thirty years and won. It springs rather from his apparent "sincerity" (in the sense in which Chinese and Japanese diplomats used to accuse each other of lacking it), his purity of intention. By his pronouncements and conduct, Mao and his party have established the general belief that they mean well toward the Chinese masses, that they know China's basic problems and have the means and determination to solve them. If he and his party lead China only to disaster in the end, it will not be the first time that self-appointed saviors have believed themselves utterly sincere.

China's One-Man Rule vs. Rule of Law

This sincerity can be understood only in the old Chinese context, where the ideal government is not "the rule of law," but "the rule of men and virtue"—that is, government by superior men whose decisions are guided by their enlightened moral sense. This was the essence of the Confucian tradition. The rigorous training in the classics, the ancient examination system, the inculcation of orthodox Confucian morality, all aimed at administration by superior men who could rule benevolently and justly by applying the moral precepts of the sages, not by following the letter of the law. The opportunity for Marxism-Leninism to exploit this Chinese tradition is obvious.

The inveterate evil in the grand moral concept of sage-government has been that Chinese officials often mouthed virtue but grew corrupt. Personal despotism has been the twin brother of Confucian morality.

The pluralism of our society, which requires no one man at the top and which gives us variety and strength, stems from the rule of law as opposed to the rule of men. It is on this ground that we line up against Marxism-Leninism and also against the Confucian tradition. But in the Chinese context, a Marxist-Leninist regime which is distinctly below the level of political life which we would tolerate in our own country seems to hold the promise of being an improvement over the old order. It is judged by the professed intentions and the conduct of its leaders. Can their promise be realized?

If we also judge by the aims set forth by Mao and the Chinese Communist Party, it seems possible; judged by the Russian record, it seems entirely improbable. Russian manipulation of the Chinese revolution, so badly bungled in the 1920's, has achieved a new high point. The Marxist-Leninist ideology of the Chinese revolution, which commends itself by promising increased production and welfare at home, is the same ideology that proclaims the Kremlin's international crusade against "capitalist-imperialist aggression" in foreign relations. The Communist thought-control system which mobilizes great production drives and efforts at national reconstruction within China is the same system that feeds the Chinese people Moscow's lies about American "aggression" in Korea or Formosa. Russia contrives to get the Chinese people to do her dirty work. Militarism is likely to eat up China's small productive surplus and impoverish her people; Mao is likely to lose his moral prestige and find himself head of another Communist police state. But this is still for the future.

Can Our Influence Be Regained?

Our first step in the necessary long-term job of appealing to Chinese moral sentiment and enlisting it against the Russian system is to recognize our own past errors. When we supported Chiang Kai-shek, both he and we fell into a trap. Relying on our support, his shaky Nationalist regime was under less pressure to carry through reforms which would compete with Communist reforms; with our arms, it was the more inclined to use force against the Communists, which quickly proved disastrous. On our part, having committed ourselves to approach China only through Chiang as the legitimate channel during our war against Japan, we were less able to bargain with him for postwar land reform and other reconstruction programs which might have headed off collapse. The White Paper documents our long frustration in this quagmire, unable either to influence the Nationalist regime effectively or to dissociate ourselves from it, impotent either to reform Chiang Kai-shek or to disillusion his political backers in America.

First, we must recall that Chiang, like other Asian leaders in contact with the West, had to have two faces: toward us abroad he was a true patriot and a Christian, incorrupt and unflinching; toward the world of Chinese politics, he functioned as a power holder and political manipulator, head of the government, party, and army, but not a reformer. While chief of state, he had to be his own Boss Hague, enmeshed in political deals with the conservative landlord-warlord forces of the countryside. This made him the natural target of complaint and moral indignation.

Secondly, the Chinese Communists used against us the well-tried tactic of polarization, which operates in two phases. In phase one they espoused all things good and desirable, all the reforms and freedoms dear to the liberal heart, and denounced all Nationalist evils. This made the liberals regard the Communists as almost liberal, and made the Nationalist right wing regard the liberals as almost Communist. Phase two followed when the Communists proclaimed, "There is no middle road; who is not for us is against us," while the Nationalist right wing, being themselves totalitarian-minded, attacked the liberals who tried to stay on a middle ground. Examples abound of this pulverizing of the center by both extremes. Thus in June, 1946, a non-Communist liberal peace delegation from Shanghai came to Nanking to protest against civil war. Nationalist thugs surrounded them at the station for several hours and finally gave them a professional beating up—no one was killed but all were hospitalized. Several of these genuine would-be liberals are now collaborating at Peking. In incident after incident the Communists, with an assist from Nationalist goon squads, won over the liberals of China.

Thirdly, it has not been difficult for the Communists by ceaseless repetition and illustration to identify the United States with the hated Nationalist regime, especially when the Nationalists themselves and their ardent American backers have constantly asserted this identification. Our asserted identity with Chiang has been the Communists' trump card, the big gun used against us. Thus the good name earned by three generations of our missionaries and educators has been all but smothered, and China is being steadily mobilized against American influence.

What Is the Remedy for Our Disaster?

In general I think we must bring the moral factor more fully into our political-economic-military thinking. We must distinguish in our own minds between the Communist reform program within China, which has both good and bad points, and the Chinese Communist integration in the Russian system of imperialism, which menaces both world peace and the welfare of the Chinese people. We must abandon any hope of engineering a Chinese Titoism by some tactic of wooing or bargaining; yet we must never forget that China and Russia are two different group interests, which may not be forever controllable by Stalinist dogma.

It seems apparent to us that the best interest of the Chinese people conflicts with the ulterior interest of the Kremlin; within the wall of Moscow propaganda, however, the Chinese people may have great difficulty in seeing this. We should make it possible for them to do so. This calls for a more vigorous American information program, but primarily it calls for an American determination to avoid the Russian trap of polarization.

This tactic has given the Russian and Chinese Communists their greatest success. When Mao says, "We lean to one side," we play his game by saying, "China is in the Russian camp." Actually, Mao is engaged in trying to drag the Chinese people into the Russian camp, but we give a push, too, by refusing recognition. It now seems plain that the Stalin-Mao axis never wanted us to recognize Communist China: the British recognition has not been accepted in practical terms, nor would ours have been. But to the Chinese people we, not the Communists, now bear the onus of preventing friendly relations between the United States and the new China.

By neglecting the struggle for moral prestige within China, we have let the Communists consolidate their position as defenders of China's welfare and national interest. In actual fact, we are convinced that Chinese Communism is selling out China's true interest to that of Moscow. But we cannot demonstrate this so long as we are successfully pictured by Moscow as acting out the role of "imperialist aggressor" which Moscow ascribes to us, and which keeps us in an immoral and suspect position in Chinese eyes.

This Russian success has two bases, one domestic and one foreign. In domestic affairs the Chiang Kai-shek regime, as the record is compiled and reiterated against it, has no way to regain its shattered moral prestige: the Communist tactic is therefore to keep us identified with it. This is done much more effectively than the American people realize. As long as the Chinese Communist effort to solve China's domestic problems keeps its momentum, as long as the Chinese people are brought by persuasion and coercion to acquiesce in Communist leadership, and as long as we seem to threaten the Communist-led effort at China's national upbuilding by our apparent support of Chiang, this tactic will work. Our big news and picture magazines help it weekly.

Two Approaches to China

In foreign affairs, the Russian effort in China is like the Russian effort elsewhere, to pin the evils of aggression upon us. Since this concerns events outside the direct experience of the Chinese people it can be accomplished by the Moscow lie machinery, and we can combat it only by getting our own information into China, as into other parts of the Soviet orbit. This suggests two essential lines of approach to China. *First,* it is absolutely essential that our information program become effective. The Voice of America is hardly a whisper in China, and must be greatly enlarged, but it may prove to be less important than other channels of information that we might develop. The overseas Chinese communities of Southeast Asia are closely connected with South China. The traditional grapevine, by word of mouth, still operates in every village if we can only reach it with the facts.

Secondly, we must make every effort to avoid taking unnecessary positions where the Chinese Communists can force us into conflict with the Chinese nation. Either diplomatic or military conflict with us helps them to consolidate their control in China and to wipe out our moral and practical influence among the Chinese people. In such conflicts, Chinese Communism stands to build up further support for its polarized anti-American position in China, while Russia stands to involve us in an enormous side show which cannot be decisive but can weaken us. Our strategic problem is therefore to decide what positions we must hold

(Continued on page 22)

An App

"GENERAL ASSEMBLY CALLS TO PEACE ACTION"

A CALL to study and action for world order and the broad outline of a plan that may well prove to be the beginning of a decisive people's movement for Christian faith and world order was issued by the General Assembly at Cincinnati. The first targets set are the local church groups studying the issue of war or peace during the period from World Order Sunday (October 21) to Christmas, using the book *Study and Action for "God and the Nations."* This study book will be published September 1. Every minister will receive a complimentary copy. The book uses the most rewarding techniques of the group process; offers selected reading lists, choice visual aids, discussion and action sections to stimulate the most effective study and action by the people of our churches. Editors of experience have participated in preparing the material for fruitful discussion. Recognized authorities in international politics have been used as consultants. The value of the study materials was proved and strengthened by the experimental use made of the manuscript by five groups in as many different churches in and near Philadelphia. Young adult and young married groups, women's associations, Sunday evening panels, and midweek study groups made a thorough test of the book. Its purpose is to lead the perplexed Christian to examine, in the light of the Word of God and the Christian faith, the proposed solutions to the problems of security, Soviet-American relations, national sovereignty and the world community, world recovery and technical assistance, war and peace. The study book and plan are not designed to make amateur politicians of the people of our churches, but to bring to the decisions of our country the essential contribution of Christian insight and faith that is now so largely missing. If this is done, the vacuum created by the destruction of the bipartisan policy in partisan debate will be filled by a dynamic, positive people's policy, replacing with faith and the works of faith the self-destroying policies inspired by fear.

The study and action program for faith and peace will be publicized in the summer synods, synodicals, and conferences. The promotion of the study groups will be carried by SEA chairmen and secretaries of synods, synodicals, presbyteries, and presbyterials. The chairmen and secretaries are to keep a record of and report the number and progress of study groups in their areas.

to Faith

"A PEOPLE'S POLICY"

THE General Assembly also earnestly petitioned the National Council of Churches to "consider the possibility of conducting a Church-wide crusade to secure the realization, nationally, of the objectives of the above program, and that the Presbyterian Church be prepared to go ahead with such plans." A revolutionary new feature would be added to the study conference of 1952 now under consideration of the Department of International Justice and Goodwill if provision is made to draw the conference membership from the local church study groups throughout the Church. This representation at a national conference would stimulate the study program and assure informed participation by the people in the formulation and promotion of a powerful "grass roots" program for world order. When this is done, an authentic peace movement will be offered those whose passion for peace through righteousness has been scorned by the advocates of overwhelming armaments and betrayed by the false Communist-inspired "appeals."

A national conference based on local study groups would doubtless greatly increase the size of the gathering, imposing extensive changes in the pattern of former study conferences. But the necessary changes are possible and desirable. A Congress on Faith and Order, established upon a basic program of study and action throughout the nation, would create a ferment in the land that could not be denied its influence in a year when party platforms are being written and national candidates selected. If the Congress were held in Chicago in May preceding the July conventions of the Republican and Democratic parties, it would be impressive evidence that American citizens were reclaiming their sovereignty and moving to control political decisions by the best Christian judgment of the people of America. Such a Church Congress would be a more dramatic appeal to faith than the Catholic Eucharistic Congress in Soldier Field, Chicago, in 1926. More, it would restore hope to all men who love freedom to see Christian America rededicate her spiritual and rich physical resources to feeding the hungry, clothing the naked—in sum, learning and doing those things that belong to peace. The first and the most important step is to secure a study group in your church. Let us act while it is day—"the night cometh."

—*Paul Newton Poling*

China

(*Continued from page 19*)

at all cost, even at the cost of fighting Chinese, and what positions are not necessary to us.

Our effort to support the UN in Korea is essential and must continue even if China is maneuvered into fighting us there. A majority decision to seat China in the UN, by which we have promised to abide, might help the Chinese people view the world more independently. Meanwhile Formosa is of marginal military value to us and less distinct than Korea as an issue of principle. As General MacArthur's famous letter made clear, it could be neutralized by whichever side had air superiority in a war. Thus with superior air power on Formosa we could dominate the air over the coast; but with superior air power on the continent, an enemy could dominate the air over Formosa. Meanwhile Sino-American hostilities over Formosa can waste the military strength of both parties and make Stalin that much stronger. In the long term Formosa is less valuable to us than peace with China. We must try to settle its disposition through the United Nations.

We will get nowhere in China either by further support of Chiang or by appeasement of Mao. We can, if we try hard on all levels, build up our prestige by helping other, accessible parts of Asia solve their problems. We can try to get this story into China; we must get the facts before the Chinese people. Although under Communist control, it will be many years before they can be thoroughly "communized." In the meantime we have a bare chance to rebuild our moral position in their eyes and to combat the prostitution of China for purposes of Russian imperialism. But this requires a recognition among patriotic anti-Communist Americans that our failure in China has only partly been due to the knavish tricks of Communism and was partly our own grievous fault for giving our aid too carelessly to a regime that had grown incapable of representing its own best aspirations or our moral position. It is on the score of domestic reform in China that we parted company with Chinese public opinion, for we (thinking of ourselves first?) considered that the evil of Russian imperialism would outweigh the benefit of the reforms promised by Chinese Communism; and too many of the Chinese people did not agree with us. It is never too late in history for great peoples to change their minds. But there is no hope of friendly relations with the Chinese people until we take ourselves out of their purely domestic politics, take China out of American party politics, and concentrate upon the paramount menace of the Russian totalitarian imperialism which we both face.

Labor Sunday Message, 1951

To be read in the churches on Labor Sunday, September 2, 1951, or, if preferred, on September 9, 1951.

MEN serve God when they strive for brotherhood, freedom, and justice. It is our Christian conviction that useful work is also a means of service to God. Therefore, it is the Christian's responsibility to understand the condition under which men work, to see that work is made meaningful, and that it brings a just reward.

Christians Are Called to Action

—Wherever in the midst of the plenty which multitudes today enjoy, there are families who still taste the bitterness of daily poverty;

—Wherever those who labor in the fields as migrants, whether from within or without our borders, work without respect according to their human dignity, without a basis for security, or without a place in the community;

—Wherever the aged or disabled who depend on savings or pensions, or others who depend on small fixed incomes, must face increasing hardships because of rising living costs;

—Wherever men are denied fair employment opportunities.

A Record of Achievement

Through the year labor unions have fought for justice often against enormous odds and with little means except devotion and courage. There has been a record of achievement in the cause of humanity in which the churches are proud to have had a share. Today our industrial life is much improved through united efforts, and much of the bitterness for the past has been forgotten. Relations between employee and employer are widely based upon acceptance of organized labor and are carried on with sincere negotiation and mutual respect. It is encouraging that progress is being made toward bridging the divisions within the ranks of labor. Labor's recognition of those moral values which provide national as well as personal security is demonstrated by its share in the struggle against racketeers and against those who did destroy democratic principles and institutions. We trust that unions will continue the effort to keep themselves free from control by any external group that seeks to exploit them for its own ends.

But another kind of vigilance is also called for in these days of great organizational accomplishment. The vital spirit that gives life and meaning to trade-unions must not be lost. In a unique way the labor movement gathers up the aspirations of multitudes of people. It is not enough that millions of workers are union members and that their dues are paid regularly. It is not even enough that wages are fairer, working conditions improved, and security against the hazards of sickness or old age more certain. It is not enough even that the labor movement has grown to large stature as an influence in community and national life. All of these are welcome achievements for which trade-unions deserve great credit. They are not enough. For man does not live by bread alone.

Responsibility for Brotherhood

We are all challenged today in the name of God to reject complacency. Power in itself is no measure of enduring great men. Because of its significance to millions of workers and its place in the community, the labor movement cannot escape responsibility for the social consequences of the use of its power. For that power offers enormous continuing opportunity for good—for taking dynamic leadership in working toward that brotherhood to which the Christian gospel calls us, for breaking down the walls between races, classes, and nations, and for creating a world in which all men can live as brothers. Such brotherhood is nurtured in those unions where the rights of members to speak freely and fully are protected and encouraged. It grows stronger with every victory in union or shop over prejudice and factionalism.

Labor, along with other segments of our society, should share fully in the crucial role America must play in world affairs. Our aid should not be employed to support reaction, to protect entrenched greed, in order to rescue the discredited or corrupt. Only by placing works of justice and brotherhood at the heart of our foreign policy may we hope to achieve either security for ourselves or freedom from fear for the world. To carry forward this world task effectively, America must work with the other freedom-loving nations for the elimination everywhere of poverty, exploitation, discrimination, and for the building of a world based on increasing self-help and cooperation.

Our Common Dream

In our times we have seen by repeated examples that courageous labor leaders and enlightened industrialists, with the co-operation and encouragement of churches, can accomplish great and significant social gains within a free democratic society. The fulfillment of our common dream of a world in which peace and justice prevail can count only if we, along with the people of other lands, look to the Spirit of God for the Light that lights every man that comes into the world. From Christ we all may draw the strength we need for the difficult and challenging days that lie ahead of us.

CHRISTIAN *Action*

Social Pronouncements of the 163d General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A.

The Report of the Standing Committee on Social Education and Action as adopted in Cincinnati, Ohio, May 30, 1951.

The crisis in world affairs confronts the Church in America with both a responsibility and an opportunity. It is our duty and blessedness to know and to do the will of God in this tragic hour. In faithfulness to Christ is this world's hope.

Throughout the years the General Assembly has in its pronouncements repeatedly and with comprehensiveness and clarity made clear its judgment in social, economic, political, and moral questions.

These excellent statements we reaffirm and heartily commend to the churches as a sound basis for study and action.

The effective response and informed action of the people of our churches are requisite if the Social Pronouncements of the General Assembly are to be related to our responsibility and opportunity.

The force of this report, therefore, is to issue a call to the people of our churches to diligent study by the light of the Word of God and the Christian faith, in order that they may declare themselves by word and deed on the urgent questions before us in this day of world emergency. We urge that every congregation conduct a series of studies on faith and world understanding during 1951-1952.

To assist our people in this purpose we offer a review of those principles of faith that bear most directly on the great issues before us. Further, we propose a plan, or Church-wide study program, whereby the individual Christian may be led to become informed and effective in making the will of God manifest in every situation and circumstance.

We are impressed with the fact that a most serious factor in this present crisis is the lessened influence of the people on public policy. By inaction and lethargy, careless citizens use their freedom to reject their responsibility for serious study and courageous action on hard questions. The evil is aggravated by the action of willful men who seek power by playing on our fears and repressing freedom of thought and debate. Edmund Burke once said, "All that is necessary for the triumph of evil is that good men do nothing." The Church would summon its members to the exercise of the responsibility of Christian citizenship and to the choosing of a constructive course of action in the light of the Christian gospel.

In this moment of history, the Church of Jesus Christ stands in a crucial and strategic position. Fashioned for God's purpose, the Church is his avenue of communication with men. Through its gospel, its means of grace, its holy fellowship, God can guide and direct the hearts and minds of men through the perils that confront us to the fulfillment of his will.

The perils lie, on the one hand, in a global war. From such a war, our world would probably emerge with its resources depleted, its liberties wiped out, its finest sons dead. On the other hand, we face the peril of surrendering our civilization, with its heritage of truth and freedom, to a primitive and brutal totalitarianism.

Through this narrow corridor of perils God must guide us. The Church of Christ has the responsibility of guarding against the dangers and of holding forth the opportunities and its final hope in the situation.

I. A TIME OF TROUBLES

The perils we face are intensified by certain tendencies that are manifest among us.

A. Self-righteousness

The Church warns against the tendency to self-righteousness. The evils of Communism appear so obnoxious and blasphemous that any means that we feel necessary to defeat Communism tends to become justified and identified in our minds with the righteousness of God. There is a most serious danger in this, for the truth is that we are not righteous before the world, let alone before God. This uncriticized sense of righteousness can make us a positive danger to the peace of the world if it encourages a preventive war or a holy crusade. We need desperately to hold our whole national life under the full sovereign majesty of God, if we are to be preserved from the self-deception which rebels against God. The constant prayer of nations as well as of men should be, "Search me, O God, and know my heart: try me, and know my thoughts; and see if there be any wicked way in me, and lead me in the way everlasting."

B. Fear and Hysteria

The Church warns against the fear and hysteria prevalent among us. These will lead only to tragic consequences. Under the stimulus of fear, we adopt many forms of repression and terrorism—the very things we despise in Communism. We countenance character assassination, which clearly violates the divine law "Thou shalt not bear false witness." Some forms of loyalty oaths are required which stifle freedom of thought and inquiry. People are afraid to speak their convictions for fear of reprisal. Thus is laid the groundwork for a police society which would destroy the very freedom we seek to save.

Furthermore, this fear and hysteria make it difficult to act soberly and dispassionately in regard to the possibility of negotiation with our enemies. We are afraid that we will be called appeasers—or that we will lose face, or sacrifice national honor. If we are motivated by faith in God and in ourselves, then we will seek every opportunity of negotiation and try every possibility that may lead to a better understanding and the allaying of fears and suspicions in the hearts of others.

The Church calls upon its people and the nation to act in faith and hope and joy in the Lord, for it knows that "there is no fear in love; but perfect love casteth out fear: because fear hath torment."

C. Militarism—Uncreative Defense

Again, the Church warns against the tendency to put our sole trust in armed might. The final confidence of a Christian nation is in the will and purpose of God and hence in the kind of conduct which that will and purpose indicate. Most of us believe that in the present condition of international life a defense adequate to discourage the forces of aggression should be in the hands of the United Nations. But whatever may be our convictions regarding the necessity of defense, we know that military power of itself will not serve to save us from the peril of Communism.

The threat of world conflagration arising out of the critical and confused situation in Asia and the Far East would be greatly reduced by a strengthening of our Christian concern for the welfare, needs, and rights of the peoples of these areas. We therefore earnestly pray that our Government, working with and through the United Nations, may follow an unwavering policy of moral courage and integrity in this and other international relations.

Communism advances its conquest by using the lust for power and the greed and ruthlessness of men. Communism finds its opportunity in the hungers, the frustrations, the despairs of men and nations, and offers itself as a panacea for these human needs. We stand in the danger of so overestimating the effectiveness of military power as the means of combating Communism that we will

—exhaust the resources available to provide creative cures,

—fasten upon America the blight of a military state,

—encourage the dangers of armament competition, and

—place on our economy the difficult task of maintaining millions of men in boring and wasteful periods of suspended activity.

While acknowledging the necessity in this day for adequate military preparation consistent with our responsibilities under the United Nations, we would remind the Church of our repeated opposition to permanent conscription, and commend a constant scrutiny of our military development program by competent civilians.

The Church must continually put forward those curative and creative plans which are inherent in the Christian faith, and which are the only final answer to the proposals of Communism.

D. Unholy Alliances

The Church cannot but be disturbed at the tendency to make friends and allies of Governments, no matter how tyrannical, solely because they, like ourselves, are opposed to Communism. Confusion and disillusionment will result from the policy of opposing Communism by supporting and encouraging other forms of totalitarianism.

E. Moral Flabbiness

The Church must sound its most solemn warning against the lack of fundamental integrity, the moral flabbiness, that is manifesting itself in the life of our nation, from high Government positions down to college athletics. The corruption that eats away the foundations of democracy and which will bring about the crumbling of its structure is not only the work of the enemies without our walls, but also the work of those among us who betray their country in political corruption, in the buying and selling of political influence, and in day-to-day common cheating. The Church is heartened by the thoroughness of Senate crime investigating and law enforcement agencies in awakening our nation to these dangers and urge continuance of the vigilance.

The Church issues a call to men in these days, as the first contribution they must make to the common struggle, to strict, unyielding integrity and devotion to the interests of the nation under God.

II. A TIME FOR FAITH

The Church must also challenge the nation with the opportunities, the hope, the goal, which under God lie before us.

A. Use of Resources for Man's Good

God has given us the resources both physical and spiritual by which all men can have the more abundant life. In fulfilling our purpose to win the souls of men and to establish the Christian values in which we believe, the Church challenges its members to a great demonstration of genuine concern and friendship and skillful aid to meet the needs of hungry, despairing, desperate men and nations. In this endeavor we must guard ourselves from the taint of imperialism which would seek, for any selfish purpose, to control either the economy or the moral or political autonomy of the people we seek to assist. This should be a vast effort uniting the will, the generosity, and the resources of our people in a great movement to create in the world economically healthy and morally free societies. This effort must not be abandoned in the face of military demands but must be recognized as of such importance that it cannot be sacrificed for military expansion. By making anything like the sacrifices we would be compelled to make in war, we can set in motion those forces of hope and recovery which are our surest allies.

B. World Order Through United Nations

The Church challenges its people and the nation to the opportunity of developing a world of law and order and human service through the United Nations. The Protestant Church has a special concern here, for it was through her program of education and leadership that a great body of people in the United States supported the idea of a United Nations and made their influence felt at San Francisco. Today the Church should press for the commitment of an increasing number of our interests and concerns to the United Nations. Our judgments in international affairs have been improved again and again by the deliberations of the United Nations bodies.

Let the Church lend its backing to suggestions already made to seek on a collective basis the reduction of armaments and to subject all weapons of war, including atomic weapons, to international jurisdiction under the proper safeguards.

Let the Church press the proposal of the United Nations for developing so-called underprivileged countries.

Let the Church keep urging a cessation of the mad armaments race.

Let the Church support before Congress the great humanitarian movements in the field of human rights which have been supported by our leaders in the United Nations.

Let us by every possible means seek to clothe the United Nations with the authority and the prestige that will give it the practical effect of world government.

C. Equal Opportunity in an Unsegregated Society

The Church challenges its people and the nation to seize the opportunity to demonstrate more effectively than ever before that every man in free America, regardless of his race, his color, or his religion, has an equal opportunity to develop his talents and capacities to the full in an unsegregated society. The urgency of our present situation demands that we give unmistakable evidence to the peoples of the world that in accordance with our faith we neither hold nor practice false ideas of superiority but regard all men as equal before God. Particularly must the Church demonstrate in every phase of its life and work the reality of brotherhood in which no person or group is penalized by virtue of minority status.

D. Concern for All Homeless and Oppressed

The Church has a continuing opportunity to befriend the exiled and the oppressed, to provide the beginning of a new life to people who have been driven out of home and country and have suffered the loss of friends, loved ones, possessions, and livelihood. The Church has had these people on its heart and conscience and in serving them has been blessed. The plight of the homeless, the sick, the hungry, the victims of oppression, wherever they may be, must always arouse the active concern of the followers of the Master and lead to ways of ministering to their need.

E. Voluntary Co-operation in a Stable Economy

The Church must continually remind our nation of the great opportunity we have to demonstrate to the world that the productive skill of our industrial workers and farmers, our inventive genius, and our managerial ability can unite voluntarily and co-operatively in the economic life of our country. This achievement would make possible a reasonable level of life for all, within a stable economy, and the preservation of the largest possible individual freedom. Our goal should include the extension of this economic community of service and co-operation to a world basis. The fulfillment of this opportunity would vastly aid the stabilization of the whole world economy and offer surer foundations for peace.

F. Missionary Outreach

The Church has the blessed opportunity of sending to the ends of the earth ambassadors of Christ to carry the good news of God's love in Jesus Christ. These messengers, upholding the dignity of man, sharing the life of the people among whom they live, ministering in human love and sympathy, are the true bearers of the tidings of peace and good will. Even where doors are closed to present missionary activity, the witness to Christ goes on. Iron curtains do not stop the movement of his Spirit. The presence of the Church of Jesus Christ is the hope of all countries in distress and oppression. Meanwhile opportunities in less disturbed localities are before us as never before. The missionary enterprise has a providential relevance to the present world crisis.

G. Personal Dedication to the Social Concern of the Gospel

The Church of Jesus Christ calls its people to a fresh and rededicated act of faith which will bring the gospel with all its meaning into immediate relation to the perils that confront us and to the opportunities that God still holds before us. Over against the threat of moral disintegration, atomic destruction, or atheistic ideologies we seek by God's grace a world that has discovered the true meaning of its existence in the purpose of God. Let each Christian seek and find for himself this Christian vocation and yield himself unqualifiedly to it.

Recommendations

We recommend:

I. In view of the declared purpose of this 163d General Assembly to call our people to responsible action in the light of Christian faith in this time of world crisis:

a. That the season from World Order Sunday, October 21, to Christmas Sunday be designated a special period of study and action in the churches to examine the proposed solutions before the American people, and to determine their course in the light of the Word of God and of Christian faith;

b. That during this period serious study be made in our churches of the excellent guide prepared by the Division of Social Education and Action, under the title Study and Action for "God and the Nations" *(publication date, September 1). (This study can be made at Sunday or midweek evening services, women's association meetings, youth groups, as best suits the local schedule);*

c. That the Assembly urge synods, synodicals, presbyteries, presbyterials, Westminster Fellowships, Summer Conferences, Area Leadership Training Schools between June 1 and World Order Sunday to give particular attention to the promotion of plans for the study and action program projected above; and commend it to proper publicity through all other available channels;

d. That the National Council of Churches be earnestly petitioned to consider the possibility of conducting a Church-wide crusade to secure the realization, nationally, of the objectives of the above program, and that the Presbyterian Church be prepared to go ahead with such plans.

II. That the General Assembly express its gratitude to the Division for its constant alertness to and careful study of social, moral, and economic issues to which the gospel of Christ in all its fullness should be applied as the only adequate *solution, and direct the attention of the General Assembly to the full report of the Division's work as carried in the report of the Board of Christian Education to this General Assembly.*

III. That these Social Pronouncements for 1951, dealing with the responsibility of the Church in the present hour of history, be adopted as the declaration of this 163d General Assembly.

IV. That the plan of having a General Assembly popular meeting in the interests of racial and cultural relations be commended, and that if possible such a meeting be held at the 164th General Assembly under the auspices of the Division of Social Education and Action.

V. That the General Assembly commend for study and use the forthcoming guide The Church and the Community, *with its valuable suggestions as to ways by which the Church may be more effective in its own locality.*

VI. That the General Assembly call the attention of the churches to the compendium of former pronouncements in the field of social education and action as appended to this report, and to the fact that the official position and policy of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America is available in a pamphlet published by the Office of the General Assembly, entitled Deliverances of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America, 1910-1945, on the Issues of Social and Moral Welfare, *and, furthermore, that this pamphlet together with the subsequent annual reports of the General Assembly are available on request to the Division of Social Education and Action, Witherspoon Building, Philadelphia 7, Pennsylvania, or to any Westminster Book Store.*

VII. That approval be given to the following statement designed to draw together the provisions of membership for the Committee on Social Education and Action:

That the report of the Committee of Five to the General Assembly of 1936 (Minutes, Part I, page 201), which was adopted by said General Assembly, be amended to conform to subsequent actions taken by the General Assembly of 1938 (Minutes, Part I, page 160), the General Assembly of 1944 (Minutes, Part I, pages 221, 222), and the General Assembly of 1948 (Minutes, Part I, page 211) to read as follows:

That the Board of Christian Education shall constitute a Committee on Social Education and Action, composed of twenty members, of whom six shall be appointed from its own membership, one of whom shall be designated as chairman by the Board of Christian Education; three from the membership of the Board of National Missions upon nomination by that Board; two from the membership of The Board of Foreign Missions upon nomination of that Board; nine from the Church at large upon nomination of the Standing Committee on Social Education and Action of the General Assembly, six of whom shall be lay men or women, one of these to be proposed by the National Council of Presbyterian Women's Organizations from among its non-Board members; and one to be proposed by the National Council of Presbyterian Men from among its non-Board members; the fourteen who are not members of the Board of Christian Education to have the status of co-opted members of the Committee, that is, they shall have full voice and vote on the Committee. These members shall be appointed for a term of three years and shall be arranged in classes.

JAMES W. LAURIE, *Chairman.*

Citizenship and Legislation

Universal Military Service and Training—As we go to press, a Senate-House conference committee has reached final agreement on the Draft-UMST bill and has laid the foundation for UMT. The compromise measure must be approved by both Houses, but this is expected early in June. The bill sets up the framework for universal military training with the proviso that Congress shall go over and approve the plans before putting any program into effect. The actual training is not expected to start, however, until after the Korean emergency is over. Under the compromise, a five-member commission on national security training would have general supervision of the UMT program. The commission, to be appointed by the President and confirmed by the Senate, would be composed of three civilians (not more than two from any one of the major political parties) and two active retired military men. Within four months after members of the commission have been confirmed they would be requested to present legislative recommendations to the Armed Services Committees of both Houses. At this point Congress will take "another look" at UMT.

Other provisions in the bill are for lowering the draft age to 18½, putting a ceiling of 5 million on the armed services, extending the draft law for 4 years, and extending the service for draftees to 24 months.

Grain for India—At this writing the India-aid bill, providing for a 190-million-dollar loan to help India buy grain to combat famine, is in a Senate-House conference committee. Among the items upon which a compromise must be effected are: (1) a Senate provision to require certain strategic materials in return for part of the loan, (2) a Senate provision setting aside part of the loan interest for cultural work in India, (3) a House requirement that the grain or other food be purchased in the United States, (4) a House provision that at least half of the food be transported in American ships.

Foreign Aid Program—President Truman, late in May, asked Congress for $8½ billion for military, economic, and technical aid for foreign countries for the coming fiscal year. He asked for $6¼ billion for guns, tanks, planes, and military equipment to supplement rearmament abroad. The remainder, $2¼ billion, he asked for economic and technical assistance in four continents, "partly to speed up foreign armament production and partly to help conquer Communism's allies of starvation and sickness." The text of the bill has not been made public, as we go to press, pending examination of the President's requests by the Congressional foreign policy committees. Until the bill is published there is some doubt as to how and where the $8½ billion program will be administered. The message suggests that the Point Four program, which now has 104 projects in 31 countries, might be taken out of the State Department, where it has been for the past year. "Consideration is now being given to transferring all such programs to ECA." The *Washington Post* said, "The new program faces probably the roughest legislative voyage of any major foreign aid measure since the end of the war."

Reciprocal Trade Program—This bill is also "in conference" between the Senate and House, as we go to press. The Senate bill extends the trade agreements program for two years, until June 12, 1953; the House bill provides a three-year extension. Under this legislation, the President can cut tariffs in return for concessions from foreign nations. Both the Senate and House bills contain restrictions on the power of the President to negotiate the pacts. One of these, the "peril point" provision, says that if the President reduces a tariff to a point which the U. S. Tariff Commission considers dangerous to the American economy he must explain to Congress. Another restriction is the "escape clause" under which this country can withdraw a tariff cut if it is found that the reduction seriously affects a domestic industry. The bill also carries an economic weapon aimed at Communist countries in that it directs the President to withdraw or suspend all tariff concessions that go to Communist countries under the pacts.

Displaced Persons—The House has passed and sent to the Senate a bill (explained in the May issue of SOCIAL PROGRESS) extending for six months the Displaced Persons Act with no increase in the number of authorizations for admission and no extension of the term of office of the Displaced Persons Commission. As we go to press, the bill is on the Senate calendar.

Controls—At press time, committees in both the Senate and House are holding hearings on the extension of the Defense Production Act, which is due to expire on June 30. Opponents are working hard to kill all controls, but, barring some unforeseen event, it is expected that controls will be continued, but not strengthened as the President had requested. However, because of the "log jam" in Congress there might have to be a short-term extension of the act, pending a final determination by Congress of the exact details to be incorporated in a long-term act.

Gambling—The Senate Crime Investigating Committee has introduced two bills, which it says are probably the most important to come out of its nation-wide investigation of criminal activities. One of the bills would make it illegal for anyone to send information by wire or radio about horse and dog races without obtaining a Federal Communications Commission license. Newspapers, news services, and radio stations would be exempted. A license would be refused to anyone who could not prove that the information would not be used to facilitate gambling. A license would also be refused to anyone not of good moral character. The second bill would make it a Federal crime to transmit gambling information obtained by stealth without the permission of the race track where it originated.

Liquor—The House Rules Committee is holding up another measure recommended by the Kefauver Crime Committee. It is a bill introduced by Representative King (Dem., Cal.), which would require annual renewal of basic permits to the liquor industry, making it possible to weed out persons convicted of felonies, and other undesirables. The Alcohol Tax Unit and the Kefauver report both say the measure is necessary if racketeering elements are not to extend control over the industry.

Worth Looking Into

***Social Action*, May, 1951,** deals with the forces of extreme reactionism prevalent in our country today. It describes the ideologies and propaganda activities of several organizations seeking to influence the economic and political views of American Protestants. It represents a careful study of the Buchanan Committee reports on lobbying, supplemented by firsthand research and inquiry. The writing is well documented and factual. May *Social Action* ought to be carefully read by every social action leader in our Presbyterian Church. Order your copy today from the Council for Social Action of the Congregational Christian Churches of the U.S.A., 289 Fourth Avenue, New York. Single copies, 25 cents; in quantity, 10 cents.

Sanctuary

CHRISTIAN SOCIAL ACTION

Call to Worship:

"And let us not be weary in well doing: for in due season we shall reap, if we faint not. As we have therefore opportunity, let us do good unto all men, especially unto them who are of the household of faith."—Gal. 6: 9, 10.

Invocation:

Our Father and God, we give thee thanks for thy presence and favor. We praise thee for thy wisdom, power, and love. We implore thy forgiveness for our error, neglect, and sloth. We pledge to thee anew greater faithfulness to the tasks whereunto thou hast set our hands. Inspire us; instruct us; strengthen us; sustain us, in the name of thy Son, our Saviour, Jesus Christ. Amen.

Hymn: "O Master, Let Me Walk with Thee."

Scripture: James 1: 22-25; 2: 17-26.

Meditation:

"But be ye doers of the word, and not hearers only, deceiving your own selves" (James 1: 22). This is an admonition, a warning. It implies the possibility, perhaps even the tendency, to do just the opposite of what is enjoined here. As though in rebuttal of what has been said, the conjunction "but" introduces in this verse a new and different consideration. What is the object of this reference and what is the new consideration? The former is the worshiper in whom a false pride is generated when he hears the word of truth and righteousness expounded. This is not directed to the stubborn resister of the gospel message, or to those who are cold and indifferent to it. It is addressed to the person who is uplifted within when he hears the gospel, and who takes pride in the very condition of devotional attentiveness which characterizes his worship experience. This pride is false because it is self-centered. The purpose of the word, or of worship, is not to produce a feeling of intense satisfaction within one's self. Worship, however beautiful, which does only that, is perverted, or, at least, incomplete.

The new consideration here is that worship should fulfill itself in action—doing. Doing is what saves worship from the cancerous spiritual disease of self-centeredness. Doing truly makes it God-centered. Why? How? Because God is ever doing something, and he enlists us in his enterprise to help him. Through worship one is given a clear outline of the individual's part, his opportunity, his assignment in God's enterprise, which is the expansion of the Kingdom of Heaven.

James is greatly concerned about the deadly spiritual effect of not following through with action, once one is inspired by the word. The person who hears, however gladly, the word of God, but does not give it practical expression in his day-to-day relationships, is guilty of self-deception. Hence the warning, "Deceive not yourselves." The worst form of deception - the most devastating in its effects —is self-deception. It is also the most difficult form for us to detect in ourselves. If one is deceived by something he sees, by putting it under the searchlight of intense scrutiny, he can find the fallacy. If one is deceived by another person, by waiting long enough he will discover the sham, the pretense. But when he deceives himself, he has no objective frame of reference. It takes someone other than one's self to cause one to see himself as he really is, in this great spiritual peril. One becomes the victim of this evil in the area of Christian social action by forgetfulness and neglect. Like the person beholding himself in a mirror, "straightway foregetteth." When one hears the word of God, the inspiration is high, the vision is clear and vivid. This is a time of great and worthy resolves. But what happens after that? Christian social action should be an immediate consequence of worship, not an eventual one. It has been said quite aptly, "The road to hell is paved with good intentions." There is grave danger in postponing action "until a more convenient time," or in "studying the problem" overlong. We call to mind Jesus' illustration of this theme. At the end of the stirring and challenging Sermon on the Mount, Jesus spoke this parable: "Whosoever heareth these sayings of mine, and doeth them, I will liken him unto a wise man, which built his house upon a rock. . . . And every one that heareth these sayings of mine, and doeth them not, shall be likened unto a foolish man, which built his house upon the sand."

The fate of those who neglected the completion of their faith is suggested by Jesus as tragic. It is utter collapse. What causes the collapse of one's pious worship? The rains descend, the floods come and beat upon it—the storm of social pressure, the floods of conflicting and confusing issues. Tragedy of tragedies is that those who have built the beautiful house of worship only upon the sand of good feeling do not realize the shallowness and insecurity of their foundation until the storm is at hand. Crime, vice, racial strife, war, must break over their own heads before the inadequacies of their spiritual life are revealed. Such people have not concerned themselves with the social implications of the word; hence, in time of real crisis they are unprepared and ineffective. They don't know what to do nor how to do it.

Doing gives strength and stability to our faith. Action is the laboratory experience without which our theory, however plausible, remains unvalidated. Let us as Christians begin work on the word while the vision of our duty and opportunity is fresh.

Prayer:

O God, through thy Holy Spirit wake our spirits, clear our sights, nerve our wills, and quicken thou our steps when our feet are set in the path of righteousness and truth. Amen.

Hymn: "Lord, Speak to Me that I May Speak."

Benediction:

"The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ be with you all. Amen."

—*Prepared by Charles C. King, pastor, Laura Street Presbyterian Church, Jacksonville, Florida.*

About Books

The Way to Security, by Henry C. Link. Doubleday & Company, Inc. $2.50.

To the names of John T. Flynn and Stanley High, who recently have damned Protestant churchmen for liberal social views, you may now add Henry C. Link. In this book, copyrighted by The Reader's Digest Association, Inc., the author writes a spirited apology for a laissez-faire treatment of big business.

The Social Gospel is called an exponent of class hatred (p. 90). The late ecumenical statesman and Archbishop of Canterbury, William Temple, is charged with "incitement to class warfare of a highly inflammatory kind" (p. 191). During World War II, the OPA prevented the profits of companies from becoming "as large as they should have" (p. 204), according to the author. The excess-profits tax is condemned as a "sham" (pp. 204 f.).

Unions are roundly excoriated for alleged blame in price rises since 1945 (p. 183), supposedly keeping their members in a constant state of suspicion (p. 185), and completely dwarfing "the great power with which large companies are so often charged" (p. 182).

It is fallacious, Dr. Link contends, to think that we can check Communism by removing the causes that create it. Elimination of poverty, slums, and unemployment would not make any difference, because Communists really come from the more privileged classes, who are affected by envy or an "economic inferiority complex" (p. 195).

Still, the book has a curious admixture of commendable insights with these prejudices and inaccuracies. Loyalty oaths in the drive against Communism are ridiculed as useless. That we can ever gain true security by material wealth is disproved. Psychoanalysis is criticized for the fad it has become. The university pattern of teaching ethics in an amoral manner as if we can be neutral concerning right and wrong is shown up for its folly. But *The Way to Security* will provide aid and comfort to those who want the churches to avoid discussion of social issues.

—*J. C. Wynn*

The Church and Contemporary Change, by G. Bromley Oxnam. The Macmillan Company. $2.50.

The change that is occurring in our day "is as significant as was the passage from slavery to feudalism, and from feudalism to capitalism." Is this change to be by coercion or by consent? The contemporary change is the result of several factors. To the basic question, the nature of man, Christianity and Communism give different answers. The author suggests specific ways in which the Church must face the threat of Communism.

In this new environment, the minister "must distinguish between the spent forces about to relinquish power and dynamic forces about to assume power." He must understand what is in the laboring man's heart. He must study and understand Communism and economic forces.

The chapter on "Religious Liberty and the Changing World" clearly and fairly states the position of the Roman Catholic Church, with its consequent threat to religious freedom; deals with the relation of Church and State; and discusses the system of public education and parochial schools. Here, in concise form, is information of great importance to every American citizen.

The author argues for planning by the

democratic state in ways that will contribute to freedom instead of serfdom. He warns that "totalitarianism is far more likely to emerge in societies where free men have failed to build the practices of righteousness than to result from the social services of a community that has resolved democratically to create the conditions of justice."

The final chapter, "Christian Strategy in the Light of the World Crisis," declares that the Church must heal its divisions, regain touch with reality, build for peace, summon Christians to become co-workers with God, and teach the nations.

Bishop Oxnam writes forcefully and with clarity. The book is positive in its approach, and offers concrete methods. He draws extensively from pronouncements of the World Council of Churches, the Federal Council, the National Study Conference on the Church and Economic Life, and quotes from many other sources. The book is based upon addresses delivered by the bishop on the Alden-Tuthill Lectures at the Chicago Theological Seminary and the Earl Lectures at the Pacific School of Religion.

—Earle W. Crawford

So We Believe, So We Pray, by George A. Buttrick. Abingdon-Cokesbury Press. $2.75.

It is not easy for a preacher to write a book that will be equally acceptable and edifying to his fellow clergymen and religious workers and to laymen. Nevertheless, the author has done so in this book. His earlier book on *Prayer* was a delight for the professional scholar and religionist, but it was too voluminous and scholarly for the average layman to read with avidity. Not so this book. It is the kind of book that would be helpful to put into the hands of one seeking a refresher course in what a Christian believes and also a program of putting that faith to work via one's prayer life.

The inception of the first half of this book came about as the result of two different lecture series to ministerial groups; the second contains the substance of a series of lectures given at Union Theological Seminary. The two have not been joined merely for convenience, but rather because of a truly organic bond. What we believe, should and does affect the way we approach God in prayer. Conversely, our prayer life should, if vital, add depth and insight to our basic understanding of the Christian faith.

The opening chapter on "Born to Believe" says most winsomely what we have long suspected. Men will believe something. None live in a vacuum. Let us then study the highest insights that have been given to man, lest we unconsciously adopt inferior. There follow stimulating essays on God, Jesus Christ, the Holy Spirit, the Church, forgiveness, and eternal life.

The second half is a practical exposition of the Lord's Prayer, verse by verse. There is always the danger of our sheer familiarity with the Lord's Prayer robbing us of its tremendous insights. This exposition will help everyone to pack fresh, vital meaning into each well-known phrase. This section would be helpful to high school and college youth, who may not have been initiated into the glorious insights of this masterpiece of the prayer of life.

—Whitney M. Trousdale

Russian Nonconformity, by Serge Bolshakoff. The Westminster Press. $3.00.

Serge Bolshakoff, who left Russia in 1919 during the Civil War as a very young engineer, studied theology at Oxford University and earned his doctorate there in 1943. Now he has written an intensely interesting volume on nonconformist groups, within and outside the Russian Orthodox Church in the past one thousand years.

Even the names of these sectarians intrigue one: Strigolniks, Judaizers, Josephites, Shore Dwellers, Wanderers, Saviourites, Dukhobors, Molokans, Jumpers, as well as the Evangelical Christians, Baptists, the Ruthenian Uniates, and the Russian Catholics. All of these are somewhat related to the history of the times in which they flourished.

The final chapter, "New Conformity," treats of the Churches in the Revolution and in the Soviet Union. "In a very real sense," the author writes, "the Orthodox Church today may be considered the largest 'Nonconformist' body in Russia. Certainly the 'official' state religion of Russia is Marxist-Leninism; and all Christian groups, both Orthodox and non-Orthodox, are nonconformist in relation to the established faith" (p. 163). "The Russian Church survived the fiery storm of the Bolshevik Revolution and emerged stronger and purer" (p. 174). Turning to the Protestant groups, he writes: "Like Orthodoxy, Protestantism represents a long and well-established tradition in the country. The Protestant groups are native and independent, dynamic and adaptable. . . .

"The Russian Protestants have not only a good chance to survive but they may be expected to develop and to organize themselves into a serious spiritual force" (p. 176).

—*Huntley Dupre*

Explorations in Altruistic Love and Behavior, a symposium by 17 authorities edited by Pitirim A. Sorokin. The Beacon Press, Inc. $4.00.

This symposium is a product of the research center recently established at Harvard by Professor Sorokin for the study of altruism, a sentiment which is still "a bold, pioneering one" in the middle of the twentieth Christian century. Hate is generally believed to be more fundamental in man than love. This volume brilliantly challenges that. Unless one loves, he cannot hate, since no one seems initially to want to hate. Asked what thoughts helped them most in combat, one third of our fighting men said thoughts of hatred of the enemy "helped a lot"; two thirds said thoughts of not letting their comrades down "helped a lot"; while three-quarters said prayer "helped a lot." Prayer (my definition) reflects an eager desire not to let down the Supreme Comrade.

Heretofore, the severity of the absolute sanction given to love by Christianity has led science to avoid the subject as representing a transcendent quality of the spirit inaccessible to the methods of science. The Sorokin studies reject that thesis and affirm an ample evidence that "from no human being does a small child by instinct withdraw," since "hatred did not exist until it was learned." How is it learned? By the "easy, socially approved black-white arrangements of groups in our thinking," which "in our shrunken world is a peril." Sorting one's emotions by creating categories is probably an inevitable, though unnecessary, expression of self-love which is in all of us, but it need not be sovereign.

Admitting that democracy deserves "two cheers" as a political expression of Christianity, since it admits variety and permits criticism, E. M. Forster adds: "There is no occasion to give three. Only Love, the Beloved Republic, deserves that!" Does this sound like the language of traditional evangelism, as disappointing as it is astonishing, coming from a scientist? If so, to correct the impression, I continue to quote phrases taken almost at random: "Inventors and engineers of love production"; "The storing of love-energy in individuals, institutions and culture"; "If ordinary mortals would cut in half their daily actions of hate . . . love-output would be increased and hate-generation decreased enormously."

This symposium is a notable contribution to the kind of evidence which the Church should stock-pile in support of its faith that the future belongs to Him who knew what was in man when He said to him, "Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, . . . and thy neighbor as thyself."

—*Lynn Townsend White*

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The Social Pronouncements of the 163d General Assembly and valuable and pertinent program suggestions for helping local groups to study and act on the pronouncements will be available in pamphlet form early in the fall for free distribution. Local church officers, church school leaders and presidents, and program chairmen of church organizations ought to have their own personal copies. Order an advance supply from your nearest PDS.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

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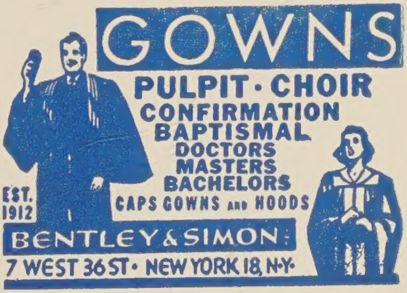

Our Carefree Youth

America, adolescent among the nations—
Will you grow up, to your opportunity, in time?
Those millions in despair are running out of patience:
Now, face your problems—your carelessness has been sublime.
'Tis true, you do not prefer the way of vicious war—
But ignorance of its cause is no excuse for you;
Help ALL men be free—that's what the world is waiting for—
You've tried democracy, but to others it is new.
In United Nations, now take the lead for freedom—
Quit arguing for your "rights"—think of the rights of all;
Fear-struck millions suffer Hell—what do you now, for them?
Have dollars stopt your ears, until you can't hear their call?
Who set you up, to judge the world? Who gave you that pow'r?
Many friends you need—you cannot live alone, and last.
Awful greed has spoilt your mind—your disposition's sour—
Help NOW both friend and foe—the times are moving fast!
A thousand years from now, what will history record?
If you endure, 'twill say, that you grew up overnight—
That you became a channel for God's own living Word,
Helping all to find their place, showing His Way is right.
Or, will it tell you failed and lost your childish temper,
In a tantrum, at losing a bit of your candy?
That is your question: What say you now, for answer?
When God calls your number, excuses won't be handy!
Here we are, but whither shall we go, in this our time?

—Lorenzo W. Lowe